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PRIDEAUX'S

CONNECTION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

VOL. III.

C. WOOD, Printer,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

Connected,

IN

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

THE DECLENSIONS OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH,

TO

THE TIME OF CHRIST.

68298

BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.

SEVENTEENTH EDITION:

To which is now added,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

WHICH CONTAINS SOME LETTERS THAT HE WROTE IN DEFENCE AND ILLUSTRATION OF CERTAIN PARTS OF HIS CONNECTION.

The whole Illustrated with Maps and Plates, and a fine Portrait of the Author.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. BAYNES, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1815.

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To the Right Honourable

DANIEL,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

MY LORD,

HAVING now by God's assistance, finished this Second part of the connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, which I promised your Lordship when I presented you with the First Part, I humbly offer it to your acceptance, hoping it may be received with the same favour and candour as the former; which I humbly pray from your Lordship: and am,

MY LORD,

Your most obedient, and

Most obliged humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

THE PREFACE.

THE SECOND PART of this HISTORY, which I now offer to the public, completes the whole of what I intend. My first purpose was to have concluded at the birth of our Saviour, and to have left what thenceforth ensues to the ecclesiastical historian of the Christian church, to whom it properly belongs. But since what is to connect the Old Testament with the New will there best end where the dispensation of the Old Testament endeth, and that of the New begins, and since that was brought to pass in the death and resurrection of our Saviour, I have drawn down this History thereto. For then the Jewish church was abolished, and the Christian erected in its stead; then the law of Moses ceased, and that of Christ and his gospel commenced, and therein the accomplishment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the person of the Messiah, which began at his birth, was fully perfected. And therefore, here I have thought it properest to fix the conclusion of this work. But to avoid encroaching too far upon the Christian ecclesiastical historian, I have from the time of Christ's birth treated but in a very brief manner of what afterwards ensued to his death; and have passed over the whole time of the public ministration both of him and his forerunner. For all things that were done therein being fully related in the four gospels, which are, or ought to be, in every one's hands, barely to repeat them here would be needless, and all that can be done beyond a bare repetition, is either to methodise them according to the order of time, or to explain them by way of interpretation; but the former belonging to the harmonist, and the latter to the commentator, they are both out of the province I have undertaken.

I having, in the Preface to the First Part of this History, recommended to the reader, for his geographical guidance in the reading of it, the maps of Cellarius, the bookseller hath, in the third edition of that part, inserted into it as many maps out of him as may be useful for this purpose. And there hath also been added, in the same edition, a map of the temple of Jerusalem, which had been drawn and published by me in a

single sheet, some years before. All these may serve for the Second Part, as well as for the First.

Perchance there may be some, who will think the history which I give of the Jewish cycle of 84 years, and of the other cycles, which as well as that have been made use of for the fixing of the time of Easter, to be too long a digression from that which is the main subject of this work. And therefore I think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that I have been led hereto by these following inducements. *First*, To give him an account of the controversies which happened among Christians about the time of celebrating Easter, during the use of this 84 years cycle among them. *Secondly*, To explain one important part of our ancient English history, by shewing upon what foot that dissention about Easter stood, which was here carried on between our British and Saxon ancestors on the account of the same Jewish cycle, during the whole seventh and eighth century, which hath no where else, that I know of, had a thorough and clear account given of it. And, *lastly*, To open the way to a better understanding of the modern dispute, which our dissenters have here set on foot among us, upon the same argument. For they allege it as one reason of their dissention, that Easter is put wrong in the kalendar before the Common Prayer-book, and that therefore they cannot give their assent and consent thereto.

It is a very odd thing that this sort of people, who are against keeping any Easter at all, should raise any quarrel about the time of its observance. But since they are pleased so to do, I will here apply what is written in the ensuing History, about the time of this festival to the present case, and endeavour thereby to give them full satisfaction in it. In order whereto I shall lay down, *first*, The rule in the kalendar, against which the objection is made; *secondly*, The objection itself that is urged against it; and then, in the *third* place, I shall give my answers thereto.

I. The words of the rule in the kalendar, as they lie in the page next after the months of the year are these following, 'Easter-day is always the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March. And if the full moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after.'

II. The objection urged against this rule is, That if we take the common almanacks, in which the new moons and full moons are set down, as they are in the heavens, it will seldom be found, that the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March, is the

Easter-day, which is appointed to be observed, according to the tables in the Common Prayer-book; and that therefore, if the rule be true, the tables must be false. And this, the dissenters think, is reason enough for them to deny their assent and consent to the whole book.

III. I answer hereto, *first*, That it must be acknowledged, this objection would be true, were it the natural full moon, that is meant in the rule. But besides the natural full moon, that is, that which appears in the heavens, when the sun and moon are in direct opposition to each other, there is also an ecclesiastical full moon, that is, a full moon day so called by the church, though there be no natural full moon thereon. To explain this by a parallel case, it is in the same manner, as there is a political month, and a political year, different from the natural. The natural month is the course of the moon, from one new moon to another; the political month is a certain number of days, which constitute a month according to the political constitution of the country, where it is used. And so a natural year is the course of the sun from a certain point in the Zodiac, till it come about again to the same; but the political year is a certain number of months or days, which constitute a year, according to the political constitution of the country where it is used. And so, in like manner, there is a natural new moon day, and an ecclesiastical new moon day. The natural new moon day is that on which the natural new-moon first appears, and the 14th day after is the natural full moon day. And the ecclesiastical new moon day is that which, by the ecclesiastical constitutions, is appointed for it, and the 14th day after is the ecclesiastical full moon day. And the primes, that is, the figures of the golden numbers, which are in the first column of every month in the kalendar, are there placed to point out both, that is, the ecclesiastical new moon day first, and then, by consequence from it, the ecclesiastical full moon day, which is the 14th day after. This order was first appointed from the time [a] of the council of Nice; and then the natural new moon, and full moon, and the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon, fell exactly together. And had the 19 years cycle, called the cycle of the moon (which is the cycle of the golden numbers,) brought about all the new moons and full moons exactly again to the same point of time in the Julian year, as it was supposed that it would, when this order was first made, they would have always so fallen together,

[a] This council was held A. D. 325

But it failing hereof by an hour and almost an half, hereby it hath come to pass, that the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon have overshot the natural new moon and full moon an hour and near an half in every nineteen years, which, in the long process of time that hath happened since the council of Nice, hath now made the difference between them to amount to about four days and an half; and so much the ecclesiastical new moons and full moons, do at this time, in every month, over-run the natural. However, the church still abiding by the old order, still observes the time of Esther, according to the reckoning of the ecclesiastical moon, and not according to that of the natural. And therefore, it is of the ecclesiastical full moon, and not of the natural, that this rule is to be understood, and consequently what the dissenters object against it from the full moon in the heavens, is nothing to the purpose. But if it be still objected, that this ecclesiastical full moon different from the natural, is the product of error, for that it hath its original from astronomical mistake in the church's falsely supposing, that the new moons and full moons, would, after every nineteen years, all come over again to the same point of time in the Julian year, as in the former nineteen years, whereas they do not so by an hour and an half, and that therefore, there is still an error in this matter; the answer hereto is, that it would be so, were the feast of Easter, and the time of observing it, appointed by divine institution: but since both are only by the institution of the church, wherever the church placeth it, there it is well and rightly observed. But,

Secondly, Were it truly the natural full moon, and not the ecclesiastical, that is meant in the rule, yet since in this supposal it would be only an astronomical, and not a theological error, this rule may be used without sin; and the use of it is all that the declaration of assent and consent obligeth to, as it is more than once plainly expressed in the act that enjoins it.

Thirdly, But it seems to me that neither the kalendar, nor this rule belonging thereto, is within that declaration, and therefore no error in either can be urged as a reason against it. For the assent and consent required to be given by the act of uniformity is, 'To the book of Common-prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons;' but neither the kalendar, nor this rule belonging to it, can be brought under

any of these particulars; and therefore cannot be contained within that declaration at all. If it be said, that the words *rites* and *ceremonies* include the calendar, and with it all the rules belonging thereto; my answer is, that the astronomical calculations, and the appointing thereby the times of the moveable feasts, concerning which our whole present dispute is, cannot be called either rites or ceremonies. If it be further urged, that both the kalendar and the rule are in the book; the reply hereto is, so are several acts of parliament, but no one will say, that by the declaration any assent or consent is given unto them. But,

Fourthly, Supposing all to be in this case as the dissenters object, to make such a trifle to be a reason of breaking communion, and separating from the church, is what men of common sense or common integrity may be ashamed of. They may as well urge the errata of the press against this declaration. For these afford as good a reason against it as the other. This shews how hard they are put to it to find reasons for their separation, when they urge such a wretched and frivolous one for it as this.

Thus much of the objection as far as the dissenters have urged it. But there being something that may be further said on the same argument, with much more plausible appearance of reason, which the dissenters have taken no notice of, I shall do it for them, that so by answering it I may clear this whole matter, and thereby fully justify the usage of our church herein. For it may be objected, that, allowing the full moon in the rule of the kalendar above mentioned to be the ecclesiastical full moon, and not the natural, yet the making of Easter-day to be the next Sunday after that full moon, is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by [b] till Pope Gregory's reformation of the Calendar, and contrary also to the present usage of our own. For, 1*st*, It is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by till the said reformation of Pope Gregory; because, till then, from the time of the council of Nice, their rule hath been, That Easter-day is always to be the first Sunday after the first fourteenth moon which shall happen after the one and twentieth day of March, which fourteenth moon is therefore called the Paschal term: but the full moon never happens till the fifteenth day of the moon; and therefore to put Easter-day on the first Sunday after the

[b] This reformation was made, A. D. 1582, and gave birth to what we call the New Style.

said full moon will be to make the first fifteenth moon after the said one and twentieth of March to be the Paschal term instead of the fourteenth, which no church in the whole Christian world hath ever yet done. And, *2dly*, It is contrary to the present usage of our own church. For, in the tables subjoined to the said kalendar, Easter-day is every where put on the Sunday next after the first fourteenth moon after the one and twentieth day of March, and never otherwise. And therefore, should Easter-day be always put, according to the rule above mentioned, on the next Sunday, after the full moon of that rule, seeing no full moon can ever happen till the fifteenth day of the moon, Easter-day would sometimes fall on a Sunday different from that where it is placed in the tables; as, for example, anno 1668, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon, would make it fall on the twenty-ninth of March, but the tables place it on the twenty-second of March, which was the Sunday before, and then it was accordingly observed. And, anno 1678, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon would make it fall on the seventh of April, but the tables place it on the last of March, which was the Sunday before, and there it was accordingly observed. And so it will be found in many other instances. And therefore, if the rule by which all other churches, till Pope Gregory's reformation of the kalendar above mentioned, observed their Easter, be right, and if the tables whereby our church keeps that festival be right, then the rule which is in our Common Prayer-book must be false, and consequently cannot be assented to as true. Thus far the objection.

The answer hereto is, that there is a twofold reckoning of the moon's age, the astronomical and the vulgar; the astronomical reckoning is from the conjunction of the moon with the sun, the vulgar from its first appearance, which is never till the next day after the conjunction. The Jews followed the vulgar reckoning, and, according thereto, acounted that to be the first day of the moon [c] which was the first day of its appearance, as I have already shewn in the Preface to the First Part of this History, and by this reckoning settled the times of their Paschal festival; which usage the [d] ancient Christians

[c] Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Selden-De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum.

[d] The ancient Christians appointed their Easter by the same rule by which the Jews appointed their Passover, and the Asian churches for a long while observed it on the same day with them.

borrowing from them did the same in their settling the feast of Easter, and so it hath continued to be done ever since. The first day therefore of the moon, which is marked out by the prime in the kalendar of our Common Prayer-book, is not the day of its conjunction with the sun, but the day of its first appearance, which is always the day after; and the fourteenth day from thence is the fifteenth from its conjunction; on which fifteenth day the full moon happens, being applied to the Paschal moon, solves the whole difficulty of this objection. For the fourteenth day of that moon, as reckoned from its first appearance, will be from its conjunction the fifteenth day on which the full moon happens. And therefore this fourteenth day of the moon being the same with the full moon, and both the same with that which hath ever been the Paschal term, the first Sunday after which is Easter-day, the said Paschal term may be expressed by either of them; and therefore this rule in the kalendar of our Common Prayer-book, in that it expresseth it by the full moon, doth the same, as if it had expressed it by the fourteenth day of the moon, and consequently it is not to be charged with any fault or error in this matter. And thus having opened the cause in all its points, I shall leave the further prosecution of it to those who shall think fit to contend about it. All that I purpose hereby is only to give such light into it, that neither side may, like the Andabatæ, fight in the dark, as both in the handling of this particular seem hitherto to have done.

In the compiling of this History, I have taken all the helps that the Jewish writers could supply me with; but these, I must confess, are very poor ones. Of the succession of the presidents and vice-presidents of their sanhedrim, by whom they say their traditions were handed down from Simon the Just, and the men of the great synagogue, I have given their names as far as this History goes. But, besides their names, there being scarce any thing related of them, but what carries with it a manifest air of improbability and fable, I have forebore troubling the reader with such trash. Only about Hillel and Shammai I have enlarged: for their followers constituting two opposite sects among the Jews, in the same manner as the Scotists and Thomists among the schoolmen, their names run through both their Talmuds and all their Talmudic writings, and they are of all that have been in that station within the compass of this history, of the most eminent note and fame among them, and have had more said of them than all the rest. And therefore I have given as full an account of

them as the Jewish writers can afford me within the limits of a just credibility.

But nothing can be more jejune and empty than the histories which the rabbinical Jews give of themselves. Josephus' History in Greek is a noble work, but they disown and condemn it, and instead of it, would obtrude upon us an Hebrew Josephus, under the name of *Josipon Ben Gorion*. This, they say, is the true and authentic Josephus, but ours, that is the Greek Josephus, a false one. There is a Josephus Ben Gorion mentioned [c] in Josephus' History of the Jewish War, who is there said to have been one of the three to whose conduct that war was first committed. This person, the impostor who composed this book, mistaking for Josephus the historian, set forth that spurious work under his name, intending thereby to quash the credit of the true Josephus, which we have in Greek, as if that were the imposture, and this in Hebrew the only true and authentic work of that historian. But the book itself proves the fraud. For there is in it mention made both of [f] names and things, which had no being till many hundreds of years after the time in which it is pretended the book was written, neither was it heard of, or ever quoted by any author, till above a thousand years after that time. Solomon Jarchi, a French Jew, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1140, is the first that makes mention of it. After that it is quoted by Aben, Ezra, Abraham Ben Dior, and R. David Kimchi, who all three lived in the same century. After this it became generally owned by the Jews, and hath obtained that credit and esteem among them, as to be held, next the sacred writings, a book of principal value among them; and was one of the earliest of their books that hath been published in print by them. For it was printed at Constantinople, in the year of our Lord 1490, which was within fifty years after the first invention of that art; and hereon it became so generally received and valued by that people, that, twenty years after, there came out another edition of it from the same place, and after that a third edition at Venice, A. D. 1544. What Munster hath published of it is no more than an epitome of this author; but the whole of it is in the Constantinopolitan

[c] Lib. 2. Κεφ μβ.

[f] For in that book there is mention made of Lombardy, France, England, Hungary, Turkey, &c. which are all modern names, and never heard of till several hundred years after the time, in which it is pretended this book was written.

and Venice editions. It is divided into six books and ninety-seven chapters. The best that can be said of it is, that it is written in an elegant Hebrew Style, and therefore on this account is very fit for the use of young students in the Hebrew language. But as to the subject matter, it is every where stuffed with apocryphal and Talmudic fables; most of that, which is not of this sort, is taken from the true Josephus; but it is to be observed, that what the impostor takes from him is from the Latin version of Ruffinis, and not from the Greek original, which leads him into several blunders. But who this author was, or where or when he wrote his book, is uncertain. [g] Scaliger conjectures that he was a Jew of Tours in France; but his reason for it being only, that he speaks more of the places about Tours; than of any other parts of France, this doth not prove the thing. But it being sufficiently proved, that the book is an imposture, it is of no moment to know who was the true author of it, or where or when he lived. Mr. Gagnier, a French Gentleman now living in Oxford, hath lately given a very accurate Latin version of this work, according to the best edition of it. It is to be wished that his learned pains had been employed about a better author.

For several hundred years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, where Josephus ends, no other Jew hath written any history of the affairs of that people, till about the tenth century after Christ. But the sect of the Karraites (who, adhering only to the written word, rejected all traditions) then prevailing, and often pressing their Rabbinists, their antagonists in this controversy, to make good the succession through which they pretended to have received their traditions, this did put several of their learned men upon the hunt for it; and they having raked through both their Talmuds, and from them gotten together some historical scraps to serve for this purpose, with these poor materials have endeavoured to compose something like an history of their nation, giving an account therein, how their traditions were delivered down from Moses to the prophets, and from the prophets to the men of the great synagogue, and from the men of the great synagogue to the doctors, who afterwards, in a continued series, handed them down from one to another, through after generations. Of this sort they have some few historical composures among them, but such as are very mean and contemptible. They all

[g] In Elencho Trihær. Nicolai Serarii, cap. 4.

begin from the creation of the world, and, as far as the scriptures of the Old Testament go, they write from them, but often interpose fabulous glosses and additions of their own. From the time where the Old Testament scriptures end, the two Talmuds supply them, and from the time where the Talmuds end, they are supplied from the traditions that were afterwards preserved among them. And an account of their doctors, and the succession of them in their chief schools and academies in Judea, Babylonia, and elsewhere, is the main subject which, after the scriptural times, they treat of. And of these historical books there are but seven in all, that I know of, among them, and they are these following: 1. *Seder Olam Rabbah;* 2. *Teshuvoth R. Sherira Gaon;* 3. *Seder Olam Zeutah;* 4. *Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior;* 5. *Sepher Juchasin;* 6. *Shalsheleth Haccabalah;* 7. *Zemach David.* The four first are the ancientest, but all of them have been written since the beginning of the ninth century, and are very short. The three last are much larger, but of a very modern composure, being all of them written since the time of our King Henry VIII. I will here give an account of each of them in their order.

I. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, i. e. *the Larger Chronicon*, is so called, in respect to *Seder Olam Zeutah*, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, which was afterwards composed. However, notwithstanding this great name, it is but a short history, and treats mostly of the scriptural times. [h] Buxtorf tells us it reached down to the time of Adrian the Roman emperor, and his vanquishing Ben Chuzibah the impostor, who did then set up for the Messiah. I have not seen any copy of that history which reacheth down so far, but no doubt that great and learned man did, otherwise he would not have told us so. The author is commonly said to have been R. Jose Ben Chaliptha, who flourished a little after the beginning of the second century after Christ, and is said to have been master to R. Judah Hakkadosh, who composed the Mishnah. But R. Azarias, the author of Meor Enaim, in the third part of that book (which he calls Imre Binach,) tells us, that he had seen an ancient copy of this book, in which it was written, that the author lived 762 years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, which refers his time to the year of Christ 832. It was most certainly written after the Babylonish Talmud; for it contains many fables and dotages taken from thence.

[h] Bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 386.

II. *Teshuvoth R. Sherira Gaon*, i. e. *the answers of R. Sherira, sublime doctor*, is an historical tract written by way of questions and answers by him whose name it bears. It is a very short piece, and is usually inserted with some other historical fragments in the editions of Juchasin. He was Echmalotarch in Babylonia, and head of all the Jewish schools and academies in that country, which dignity he obtained A. D. 967, and continued in it thirty years, that is, till the year 997, when he resigned it to R. Haia his son, who was the last that bore the title of *Gaon* or *sublime doctor*. For in his time, *i. e.* anno 1037, the Mahometan king that then reigned over Babylonia [j] expelled the Jews out of all those parts, and thereon [k] all their schools and academies which they had there, were dissolved, and all the degrees and titles of honour, which on the account of learning used to be conferred in them, utterly ceased, and no learned man hath since that time, among the Jews, assumed any higher name or title of honour in respect of his learning than that of Rabbi.

III. *Seder Olam Zeutah*, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, is so called in respect to *Seder Olam Rabbah*, or *the Greater Chronicon*. This book was written, as it is therein expressed 1053 years after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, that is, in the year of our Lord 1123. Who was the author of it is not known. It is, agreeable to its name, a very short chronicon, and is carried down from the beginning of the world to the year 452 after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, that is to the year of our Lord 522. Eight generations after are named in it, but nothing more than their names is there mentioned of them.

IV. *Sepher Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita*, [l] *Ben Dior*, i. e. *the book of tradition, by Rabbi Abraham the Levite, the son of Dior*, is an historical tract, chiefly intended to give an account of the succession of those, by whom the traditions of the Jews, as they pretend, from the time of Moses, were handed down to them from generation to generation. It begins from the crea-

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[j] On this expulsion out of the East, they flocked into the West, and from that time Spain, France, England, and Germany, were filled with them.

[k] The chief of their academies were Naherda, Sora, and Pompeditha, towns in Babylonia.

[l] Others call him R. Abraham Ben David, but by mistake, for that R. Abraham was another person. See Buxtorf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 402.

tion of the world, and ends at the year of Christ 1160. The author of it was R. Abraham the Levite, whose name it bears in the title. He flourished in the time where his book ends. He writes much from Josippon Ben Gorion, and was one of the first that gave credit to that spurious book.

V. *Cepher Juchasin*, i. e. *the Book of Genealogies*, is an history of the Jews, much larger than all the four above mentioned put together. It begins from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of our Lord 1500. In the process and series of it an account is given of the succession of the Jewish traditions from Mount Sinai, and of all their eminent doctors teaching and professing them, down to the time where the book ends. The author of it was R. Abraham Zacuth, who first published it at Cracow, in Poland, in the year of our Lord 1580.

VI. *Shalsheleth Haccabbalah*, i. e. *the Chain of Tradition*, is an historical book of the same contents with Sepher Juchasin. The author of it was Rabbi Gedaliah Ben Jechajah, who first published it at Venice in the year of our Lord 1587.

VII. *Semach David*, i. e. a *Branch* or *Sprout of David*, is an history treating of the same subject as the two last preceding. It begins as they do, from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of Christ 1592, in which year it was first published at Prague in Bohemia. The author was Rabbi David Ganz, a Bohemian Jew. There is extant a Latin version of this book, composed by William Henry Vorstius, the son of Conrad Vorstius, and published by him at Leyden A. D. 1644.

By this it may be seen how little light into ancient times is to be gotten from histories of so modern and mean a composure, neither can any thing better be expected from their other writings. If any thing of ancient history be found any where in them more than what is scriptural, it is either taken from one of the histories which I have here gave an account of, or from the Talmud, which is the common fountain from which they all draw. For this is the best authority they have, and how mean this is I have already shewn.

My living at a distance from the press hath deprived me of the opportunity of correcting the errors of it; but this defect hath been supplied by my very worthy friend Mr. Brampton Gourdon, who hath been pleased to take on him the trouble of correcting the last revise of every sheet; and I know no one more able to correct the errors, not only of the printer, but also of the author, wherever I may have been mistaken in

any particular contained in this book, he being a person eminently knowing in all those parts of literature, that are treated of through the whole of it, and otherwise of that worth and learning, as may justly recommend him to every man's esteem.

I shall be glad if this Second Part of my History may be as acceptable to the public as the former hath been. I must confess it hath been written under greater disadvantages, by reason of the decays which have since grown upon me. It hath always been the comfort, as well as the care of my life, to make myself as serviceable as I could, in all the stations which I have been called to. With this view it hath been, that I have entered on the writing of any of those works that I have offered to the public; and I hope I have by all of them in some measure served my generation. But being now broken by age, and the calamitous distemper mentioned in the Preface to the former part of this History, I find myself superannuated for any other undertaking, and therefore must, I fear, spend the remainder of my days in an useless state of life, which to me will be the greatest burden of it. But, since it is from the hand of God, I will comport myself with all patience to submit hereto, till my great change shall come, and God shall be pleased to call me out of this life into a better. For which I wait with a thorough hope and trust in his great and infinite mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, honour, and praise, for ever and ever.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

NORWICH,
Jan. 1, 1717-18.

PONTUS EUXINUS
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
AMISENUS SINUS
P. GALATICUS
P. POLEMONIACUS
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
ASIA MINOR. ANTIQUA.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK I.

ELEAZER, the brother of Simon the Just, [a] succeeded him in the high priesthood at Jerusalem, and there executed this office [b] 15 years. But whereas Simon the Just had been also president of the sanhedrim, or national council of the Jews, he was in this last charge succeeded [c] by Antigonus of Socho, to which he was recommended by his great learning. For he was an eminent scribe in the law of God, and a great teacher of righteousness among the people. And he being the first of the Tannaim or Mishnical doctors, from his school all those had their original who were afterwards called by that name. And these were all the doctors of the Jewish law from the death of Simon the Just to the time that Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh composed the Mishna, which was about the middle of the

Anno 291. Ptolemy Soter 11.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2. Chronicon Alexand. Eusebii Chronicon.

[b] Chronicon Alexandrinum.

[c] Juchasin, Shalsheleth Haccabbala, & Zemach David. R. A Levita in Historica Cabbala.

second century after Christ, as hath been before observed. In the gospels, they are sometimes called scribes, sometimes lawyers, and sometimes those that sat in Moses' seat. For those different appellations all denote the same profession of men, that is, those who having been brought up in the knowledge of the law of God, and the tradition of the elders concerning it, taught it in the schools and synagogues of the Jews, and judged according to it in their sanhedrims. For out of the number of these doctors were chosen all such as were members of those courts, that is, either of the great sanhedrim of seventy-two, which was for the whole nation, or of the sanhedrim of seventy-three, which was in every city in Judah. And such were Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel; and in respect hereof is it that they are called elders, counsellors, and rulers, because, being of the number of those who were chosen into these councils, they did there declare and execute those laws, by which they ruled and governed the people.

The Jews tell us great things of this Simon the Just, and speak of great alterations that happened on his death in some parts of their divine worship, and the signs of the divine acceptance, that had till then appeared in the performance of them. For [d] it is said in the Jerusalem Talmud, that "All "the time of Simon the Just, the scape goat had scarce come "to the middle of the precipice of the mountain, from "whence he was cast down, but he was broken into pieces: "but, when Simon the Just was dead, he fled away alive into "the desert, and was eaten of the Saracens. While Simon "the Just lived, the lot of God in the day of expiation went "forth always to the right hand: but Simon the Just being "dead, it went forth sometimes to the right hand, and some-"times to the left. All the days of Simon the Just, the "little scarlet tongue looked always white: but when Simon "the Just was dead, it looked sometimes white, and some-"times red. All the days of Simon the Just, the [e] west "light always burnt: but, when he was dead, it sometimes "burnt, and sometimes went out. All the days of Simon "the Just, the fire upon the altar burnt clear and bright, "and, after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they "laid on nothing else the whole day after: but, when he

[d] Mishna and Gemara Hierosol. in yoma.

[e] That is, the most western of the seven lamps of the golden candlestick, which stood in the holy place in the temple.

"was dead, the force of the fire languished in such a man-"ner that they were forced to supply it all the day. All "the days of Simon the Just, a blessing was sent upon the "[f] two loaves, and [g] the shew-bread: so that a portion came "to every priest, to the quantity of an olive at least; and "there were some who did eat, and there were others to "whom something remained after they had eaten their fill: "but when Simon the Just was dead, that blessing was with-"drawn and so little remained to each priest, that those who "were modest withdrew their hands, and those who were "greedy still stretched them out." For the explication hereof, it is to be observed, that, on the great day of expiation, which was a most solemn fast among the Jews, kept by them every year on the tenth day of their month Tizri (which answers to our September,) [h] two goats were brought into the inner court of the house of the Lord, and there, on the north side of the altar, presented before the high priest, the one to be the scape-goat, and the other to be sacrificed to the Lord. And in order to determine, which of them should be for each purpose, [i] lots were cast to decide the matter; the manner of which was as followeth. The [k] goats being put one before the right hand of the high priest, and the other before the left hand, an urn was brought, and placed in the middle between them, and two lots were cast into it, (they might be of wood, silver, or gold, but under the second temple they were always of gold.) On the one of these was written *For the Lord*, and on the other *For the scape-goat*; which being well shaken together, the high priest put both his hands into the urn, and with his right hand took out one lot, and with his left hand the other, and according to the writing on them were the goats appointed, as they stood on each side of the high priest, either for the Lord, to be sacrificed to him, or to be the scape-goat, to be let escape in the wilderness; that is, if the right hand lot were

[f] That is, the two wave-loaves offered in the feast of Pentecost, of which see Lev. xxiii. 15—21.

[g] That is, the twelve loaves of shew-bread, which were placed upon the shew-bread table in the holy place every Sabbath, and taken away the next Sabbath after, and divided among the priests that then officiated. See Lev. xxiv. 5—10.

[h] Mishna in Yoma. Maimonides in Yom. Haccipurum.

[i] Lev. xvi. 8.

[k] Mishna & Maimonides, ibid.

For the Lord, then the goat that stood before him at the right hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape-goat. but if the left hand lot were *For the Lord*, then the goat that stood at the left hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape goat, and therefore, whereas it is said, that the lot of God, till the death of Simon the Just, went forth always to the right hand, the meaning is, that till then the high priest always drew out with his right hand, the lot *For the Lord*, and with his left that *For the scape-goat*; but afterwards with each hand sometimes one lot, and sometimes the other. As soon as the goats were thus appointed each to their proper use, the high priest bound upon the head of the scape-goat a long piece (they call it a tongue) of scarlet. And this is that scarlet tongue, which, the Talmud saith, looked always white till the death of Simon the Just, but afterwards sometimes white, and sometimes red. And the change of red into white being here spoken of as a sign of God's accepting of the expiation of that day, hither may be referred what is said in Isaiah (ch. i. ver. 18.) *Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool*; or rather to this text may be referred the foundation of all that they say of this matter. After the goat for the Lord was offered up in sacrifice to him, the scape-goat was brought before the high priest, who, laying both his hands upon his head, confessed over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, and all their sins; by that ceremony putting them all upon the head of that goat; and then sent him away by a fit person, into the wilderness. The place where they led him was a rock or precipice at the distance of twelve miles from Jerusalem, where he was to be let escape, to carry away the sins of the children of Israel with him far out of sight. Till the time of Simon the Just, the Talmud saith, this goat was always dashed in pieces in the fall, on his being let loose over the precipice; but that afterwards he always escaped, and, flying into Arabia, was there taken and eaten by the Saracens.

Demetrius having, as he thought, thoroughly settled his affairs in Greece and Macedon, [1] made great preparations to recover his father's empire in Asia; for which purpose he got together an army of 100,000 men, and a fleet of 500 sail of ships, which was a

Anno 308. Ptolemy Soter 17.

[1] Plutarch. in Demetrio & Pyrrho. Justin. lib. 16. c. 2.

greater force, both by sea and land, than had been gotten together by any prince since the time of Alexander the Great.

This alarming Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, [m] they all three entered into a confederacy together for their mutual defence against his designs, and also drew in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to join with them herein. And therefore, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia on the one side, Pyrrhus did the same on the other. This drew Demetrius out of Greece (where he was then attending his preparations for the Asian expedition) back into Macedonia, for the defence of that country. But before he could arrive thither, Pyrrhus having taken Berœa, a great city in Macedonia, where many of Demetrius' soldiers had their families, friends, and effects, the news hereof no sooner got into the army, but it put all into disorder and mutiny, many declaring, that they would follow him no farther, but return home to defend their friends, families, and fortunes, in their own country; whereon Demetrius, seeing his interest absolutely lost among them, fled in the disguise of a private soldier into Greece; and all his army revolted to Pyrrhus, and made him their king. Demetrius, on his return into Greece, having there ordered his affairs in the best manner his present circumstances would admit, committed the care of all he had in those parts to Antigonus his son, and with all the remainder of his forces that could be spared from thence (which amounted to about eleven thousand men,) went on board his fleet, and sailed into Asia, there in a desperate manner to seek his fortunes. On his arrival at Miletus, he took that city, and there married Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy. She was brought to him thither by Eurydice her mother, the wife of Ptolemy, and sister of Phila, Demetrius' former wife, who died a little before of a dose of poison, which she desperately took on her husband's flight out of Macedonia, to avoid the calamity which she thought would follow that declension of his fortune. However this did not hinder Ptolemy from marrying his daughter to him, and of this marriage was born Demetrius, who afterward reigned in Cyrene.

Anno 287. Ptolemy Soter 18.

From Miletus, Demetrius [n] invaded Caria and Lydia, and having taken many cities from Lysimachus in those provinces, and there much augmented his forces with new recruits, at length made himself master of Sardis. But on the coming of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, with an army against him,

[m] Plutarch. & Justin. ibid.

[n] Plutarch. in Demetrio.

the was forced again to quit all that he had taken, and marched eastward. His intentions in taking this rout were to pass into Armenia, and Media, and seize these provinces. But Agathocles, having coasted him all the way in his march, reduced him to great distress for want of provisions and forage, which brought a sickness into his army, that destroyed a great number of them, and, when he attempted to pass mount Taurus with the remainder, he found all the passes over it seized by Agathocles: whereby being obstructed from proceeding any further that way, he marched backward to Tarsus in Cilicia, a town belonging to Seleucus, and from thence signifying to that prince the calamitous condition he was reduced to, earnestly prayed relief and assistance from him for the subsisting of himself and the forces that followed him. Seleucus, being moved with this representation of his doleful case, at first took compassion on him, and ordered his lieutenants in those parts to furnish him and his forces with all things necessary. But afterwards being put in mind of the valour and enterprising genius of this prince, and of his great abilities in all the arts and stratagems of war, and his undaunted boldness for the attempting of any design he should have an opportunity for, he began to think, that the setting up of such a man again might tend to the endangering of his own affairs, and therefore, instead of helping him any further, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity absolutely to crush him, and accordingly marched against him with an army for this purpose; of which Demetrius having received intelligence, he seized on those fastnesses of mount Taurus where he could best defend himself, and from thence sent again to Seleucus, intreating him that he would permit him to pass into the East, that there seizing some country of the barbarous nations, he might therein pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose; or otherwise, if he liked not this, that he would at least allow him quarters for that winter, and not in the rigorous season of the year, drive him out in a naked and starving condition into the very jaws of his enemies, to be devoured and destroyed by them. But Seleucus not at all liking his design of going into the East, this first part of his request served only to increase his jealousy, and therefore all that he would grant him was, to take winter-quarters in Cataonia (a province confining upon Cappadocia, for two months during the severity of the winter, and after that to be gone. And then he immediately put guards on all the passes of the mountains leading from Cilicia into Syria, to obstruct his coming that way. De-

metrius finding himself hereby pent up and beset, that is, by Agathocles on the one side, and by Seleucus on the other, was necessitated to betake himself to force for the extricating of himself, and therefore falling upon Seleucus' forces, that guarded the passes of the mountains into Syria, he drove them thence, and entered through them into that country.

But [°] when he was ready to have proceeded further on some bold enterprise for the restoring of his affairs, he was taken with a dangerous sickness, which lasted forty days. In the interim most of his men deserted: whereby finding himself, on his recovery, reduced to the utmost necessity, he resolved to make a desperate attempt upon Seleucus, by storming his camp in the night, with that small handful of his forces that still remained with him. But his design being discovered by a deserter, and thereby disappointed just as he was ready to have put it in execution, and many more of his soldiers deserting from him hereon, he attempted to make a retreat back over the mountains, and, that way, if possible, again reach his fleet. But finding all the passes there seized against him, he was forced to take shelter in the woods; but being there ready to be starved, he was brought at length to the necessity of surrendering himself into the hands of Seleucus, who having caused him, under a strong guard to be carried to the Syrian Chersonesus near Laodicea, there kept him a prisoner till he died. He allowed him there the freedom of a park to hunt in, and all other accommodations both for the pleasures, as well as the necessaries of life. Whereon giving himself wholly up to eating, drinking, gaming, and laziness, he passed away the remainder of his life in those voluptuous and idle enjoyments, till at length, having fed up his body hereby to an excessive fatness, and filled it with gross and noxious humours, he fell into that sickness, of which he died in this confinement, after he had passed in it three years, and had lived to the 51th year of his age.

Anno 286, Ptolemy Soter 19.

All the time of his confinement Seleucus frequently sent him kind messages, with promises of a release from his captivity, assuring him, that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should be returned again to Court, the articles of his restoration should be settled by them to his content. This Stratonice was the daughter of Demetrius, and had been first married to Seleucus (as hath been above related), but was then,

[°] Plutarchus in Demetrio.

by an unparalleled example, become the wife of Antiochus his son. The manner how it came to pass is thus related. [p] Stratonice being a very beautiful lady, Antiochus fell in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length, through the violence of it, fell desperately sick. Erasistratus, an eminent Greek physician, having the care of him in his sickness, soon found out what the distemper was, but to discover who was the person that had kindled this flame in him, was the difficulty; for the finding of this out, he carefully attended his patient, when visited by any of the court ladies, and observing, that whenever Stratonice came into his chamber, great alterations were made in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, and in every thing else about him which the passion of love could reach; and that nothing of this happened, when any other lady came to make him a visit, he hereby fully discovered that Stratonice was the sole object of that violent love, which caused his sickness; and finding that nothing else could cure him of it, but the enjoyment of the person beloved, for the bringing of this about, he thus craftily managed the matter: The next time that Seleucus inquired of him about his son's sickness, he told him, that his disease was love, and that he must necessarily die of it, because he could not have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. Seleucus being surprised at this account, asked, why he could not have the person he loved; because, saith the physician, he is in love with my wife, and I cannot part with her. How! not part with her, replied Seleucus, to save my beloved son's life, how then can you pretend to be my friend? Sir, said the physician, pray, make it your own case, would you, I pray, part with your wife Stratonice for the sake of Antiochus? And if you, who are his most tender father, will not do it for a most beloved son, how can you expect it from any other? Oh, replied Seleucus, would to God the safety of my son were put upon this issue, I would then gladly part with Stratonice, or any thing else, to effect his recovery. Why, then, said Erasistratus, you are the only physician that can cure him, for it is the love of Stratonice that hath cast him into this disease, which he languisheth with, and nothing can restore him but the giving of her to him to wife. Hereon Seleucus having easily

[p] Plut. in Demetrio. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus, lib. 5. c. 7. Lucianus de Dea Syria. Julianus in Lisopogone.

enough prevailed with Stratonice to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, she was given to him to wife, after she had born children to his father, and they being thereon crowned king and queen of Upper Asia, were sent thither to govern those provinces, and there they were all the time that Demetrius was in his confinement in Syria. And from this abominable incestuous marriage (the like whereof was not heard of among the Gentiles [q] in St. Paul's time) sprung all that race of Syrian kings, who so grievously persecuted, vexed, and oppressed God's people in Judah and Jerusalem, as will be hereafter related.

Ptolemy Soter having reigned in Egypt 20 years from the time of his assuming the title of king, and 39 from the death of Alexander, [r] placed Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of the sons which he had by Berenice, on the throne, and made him king in co-partnership with him. He had several sons by other wives, one of which was Ptolemy, surnamed Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, who being born to him by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the elder of the two, expected the crown after his father, as due to him before the other by virtue of his birth-right. But Berenice, who came first into Egypt only as companion to Eurydice, when she first married Ptolemy, having also become his wife, and [s] by reason of her beauty been exceedingly beloved by him, she gained hereby such an ascendant over him above all his other wives, that she carried it for her son. And therefore being now past eighty, and apprehending the day of his death not to be far off, he determined to put the crown upon his head, while he yet lived, that so there might be no war nor contention about it after his death. Whereon [t] Ptolemy Ceraunus, not bearing this preference of his younger brother before him, fled first to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles went to Seleucus, who received him with great kindness, which he repaid with the most villanous treachery, as will be hereafter related.

Anno 285. Ptolemy Soter 20.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus

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[q] 1 Corinth. v. 1.

[r] Pausan. in Atticis. Justin. lib. 16. c. 2. Diog. Laert. in Demet. Phal.

[s] Vide Theocriti Idylium 17.

[t] Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium.

Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. I. (which was the first year of the one hundred twenty fourth Olympiad) was [u] finished the great tower or light-house in the island of Pharus over against Alexandria, commonly called the tower of Pharus, which hath been reckoned among the seven wonders of the

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[u] Plin. lib. 36. c. 12. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 791. Eustathii Comment. in Dionysi Periegesin. Suidas in φαρος Eusebii Chronicon, p. 66. Stephanus Byzantinus. Geographia, Nubiensis, Vetus Scholiastes in Lucianum. This old Greek scholiast is at the end of Grævius' edition of Lucian's works published at Amsterdam, anno 1687. That which I quote it for, is a passage taken out of it by Nicholas Lloyd in his Geographical Lexicon, where, under the word Pharus, he tells us in the words of that scholiast, that this tower was τετραγωνος σταδιος την πλευρην επι πολυ τω αερος ανεχων ὡς απο 'ρ ὁραθαι μιλιων, i. e. *That it was a square of a furlong* (i. e. 600 feet) *on every side, and ascended up so high into the air, that it might be seen at the distance of an hundred miles.* Though this determines the breadth to a certain measure, yet it doth not the heigl t, but in an uncertain manner. But this defect is supplied by Eben, Adris, an Arabic author, in his book, called by the Latin translator Geographia Nubiensis. For there he tells us (Clim. 3. part 3.) that this tower or light-house of Pharus was 300 cubits (i. e. 450 feet) high. But both these accounts are very improbable, and the former is contradicted by what Josephus tells us of it, (De Bello Judaico, lib. 6. p. 914.) for, speaking of the tower of Phasaelus at Jerusalem, which he describes to be a square building of forty cubits, i. e. 60 feet) on every side, and ninety cubits (i. e. 135 feet) high, saith of it, that it was like the tower of Pharus near Alexandria; τη περιοχη δε πολ' μειζων ην, i. e. *But as to its circumference it was much larger.* And Josephus, having often seen both these towers, could not be mistaken herein. Were the tower of Pharus of the breadth of 600 feet on every side, and of the height of 450 feet, it would within 30 feet be as high as the great pyramid, and stand upon altogether as much ground in a direct perpendicular building, as that doth in a pyramidal; which would render it, beyond all other buildings in the world, very prodigious; and were it so, Josephus could not have said in reference to it the words above recited. But against Josephus as to this matter it may be objected, that if the tower of Pharus were so much less, than the tower of Phasaelus at Jerusalem, how came it to be ever reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world? It would be answer to this objection if we could say the words of Josephus, as above recited, were to be referred to the tower of Pharus, and not to that of Phasaelus, but the grammatical construction will not admit it. If any one shall say,

world. It was a large four-square pile of building, all built of white marble, and had always fires maintained on the top of it for the direction of seamen. It cost in the building eight hundred talents. This, if computed by Attic talents, amounts to one hundred sixty-five thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by Alexandrian talents it will come to twice as much. The architect, who built it, was Sostratus of Cnidus, who craftily endeavoured to usurp the honour of it with posterity to himself by this fraudulent device. The inscription ordered to be set on it being [*King* Ptolemy *to the Gods the Saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea*] instead of Ptolemy's name, he craftily engraved his own in the solid marble, and then filling up the hollow of the engraved letters with mortar, wrote upon it what was directed. So the inscription, which was first read, was according as it was ordered, and truly ascribed the work to king Ptolemy its proper founder; but, in process of time, the mortar being worn off, the inscription then appeared to be thus; Sostratus, *the* Cnidian, *son of* Dexiphanes, *to the Gods the Saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea*] which being in lasting letters deeply engraved into the marble stones, lasted as long as the tower itself. This tower hath been demolished for some ages past. There is now in its place [x] a castle called Farillon, where a garrison is kept to defend the harbour, perchance it is some remainder of the old work. Pharus was at first wholly an island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent, and had no other passage to it but by sea. But it [y] hath many ages since been turned from an island into a peninsula, by being joined to the land, in the same manner as Tyrus was, by a bank carried through the sea to it, which was anciently called in Greek the *Hephtastadium*, i. e. *the seven furlong bank*, because seven furlongs was the length of it. This work was performed by Dexiphanes, the father of Sostratus, about the same time that Sostratus finished the tower, and seems to have been the more difficult undertaking of the two. They, being both very famous architects, were both employed by Ptolemy Soter in the works which

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that in the place cited μειων (*i. e.* lesser) should be read instead of μειζων *i. e.* larger,) I should readily agree to this emendation, could it be justified from any authentic copy.

[x] Thevenot's Travels, part 1. book 2. chap. 1.

[y] Strabo. lib. 17. p. 792. Plin. lib. 5. c. 31. & lib. 13. c. 11. Cæsaris Comment. De Bello Civili, lib. 3. Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. c. 7.

he had projected for the beautifying, adorning and strengthening the city of Alexandria: The father having undertaken the *Heptastadium* at the same time that his son did the tower, they finished both these works at the same time, that is, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Those who attribute the making of the *Heptastadium* to Cleopatra follow [z] Ammianus Marcellinus, whose relation concerning it cannot be true: for it contradicts Cæsar's Commentaries, and many other authors, that are better to be credited in this matter.

Towards the end of this year [a] died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the second year after his admitting of his son to sit on his throne with him, being at the time of his death [b] eighty-four years old. He was the wisest and best of his race, and left an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, behind him, which none of his successors cared to follow. During the forty years in which he governed Egypt, from the death of Alexander, he had brought that country into a very flourishing condition, which administering great plenty to his successors, this administered to as great luxury in them, in which they exceeded most that lived in their time.

A little before his death, this very same year, was brought out of Pontus to Alexandria the image of Serapis, after three years sedulous endeavour made for the obtaining of it: concerning which we are told, that [c] while Ptolemy the first of that name that reigned in Egypt, was busying himself in fortifying Alexandria with its walls, and adorning it with temples and other public buildings, there appeared to him in a vision of the night a young man of great beauty, and of more than human shape, and commanded him to send to Pontus and fetch from thence his image to Alexandria, promising him, that his doing this should make that city famous and happy, and bring great prosperity to his whole kingdom, and then, on his saying this ascended up into heaven in a bright flame of fire out of his sight. Ptolemy, being much troubled hereat, called together the Egyptian priests to advise with them about it; but they being wholly ignorant of Pontus, and all other foreign countries, could give him no answer con-

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[z] Lib. 22. cap. 16.

[a] Pausanias in Atticis. Eusebii Chronicon.

[b] Lucianus in Macrobiis.

[c] Tacitus Histor. lib. 4. cap. 83, 84. Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride. Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico.

cerning this matter; whereon, consulting one Timotheus an Athenian, then at Alexandria, he learnt from him, that in Pontus there was a city called Sinope, not far from which was a temple of Jupiter, which had his image in it, with another image of a woman standing nigh him, that was taken to be Proserpina. But, after a while, other matters putting this out of Ptolemy's head, so that he thought no more of it, the vision appeared to him again in a more terrible manner, and threatened destruction to him and his kingdom, if his commands were not obeyed; with which Ptolemy being much terrified, immediately sent away ambassadors to the king of Sinope to obtain the image. They being ordered in their way to consult Apollo at Delphos, were commanded by him to bring away the image of his father, but to leave that of his sister. Whereon they proceeded to Sinope, there to execute their commission in the manner as directed by the oracle. But neither they, with all their solicitations, gifts, and presents, nor other ambassadors that were sent after them with greater gifts, could obtain what they were sent thither for, till this last year. But then the people of Sinope, being grievously oppressed by a famine, were content, on Ptolemy's relieving them with a fleet of corn, to part with their god for it, which they could not be induced to do before. And so the image was brought to Alexandria, and there set up in one of the suburbs of that city called Rhacotis, where it was worshipped by the name of Serapis; and this new god had in that place, a while after, a very famous temple erected to him, called the Serapeum: and this was the first time, that this deity was either worshipped or known in Egypt; and therefore it could not be the patriarch Joseph, that was worshipped by this name, as some would have it. For, had it been he that was meant hereby, this piece of idolatry must have been much ancienter among them, and must also have had its original in Egypt itself, and not been introduced thither from a foreign country. Some of the ancients indeed had this conceit, as [d] Julius Firmicus, [e] Ruffinus, and others; but all the reason they give for it is, that Serapis was generally represented by an image with a bushel on its head, which they think denotes the bushel wherewith Joseph measured out to the Egyptians his corn in the time of the famine; whereas it might as well denote the bushel with which Ptolemy measured out to the people

[d] In Libro de Errore Prophanarum Religionum.
[e] Histor. lib. 2. c. 23.

of Sinope the corn, with which he purchased this god, of them. However this same opinion is embraced [f] by several learned men of the moderns, and for the support of it against what is objected from the late reception of Serapis among the Egyptian deities, they will have Serapis to have been an ancient Egyptian god, and the same with their Apis, and that Serapis was no other than Apis ἐν Σόρῳ, that is, *Apis in his coffin*, and for this they quote [g] some of the ancients. Their meaning is, that, while the sacred bull, which the Egyptians worshipped, for their great god, was alive, he was called Apis, and that, when he was dead and salted up in his coffin, and buried, he was called Serapis, that is, *Apis in Soro* (i. e. *in his coffin*,) from whence, they say, his name was at first Soroapis, made up of the composition of these two words Soros and Apis put together, and that, by corruption from thence it came to be Serapis. But what is there, that, after this rate, learned men may not tenter any thing to? But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek. The Ptolemys first brought that language among them; and therefore had Serapis been an ancient god worshipped in that country before the Ptolemys reigned there, his name could not have had a Greek etymology. Much more might be said to shew the vanity of this conceit, were it worth the reader's while to be troubled with it. It is certain Serapis was not originally an Egyptian deity anciently worshipped in that country (as he must have been, had it been Joseph that was there worshipped under that name,) but was an adventitious god brought thither from abroad about the time which we now treat of. The ancient place of his station, [h] Polybius tells us, was on the coast of the Propontis, on the Thracian side, over against Hierus, and that there Jason, when he went on the Argonautic expedition, sacrificed unto him. From thence, therefore, the people of Sinope had this piece of idolatry, and from them the Egyptians, in the manner as I have related; and till then this deity was wholly unknown among them. Had it been otherwise, Herodotus, who is so large in his account of the Egyptian gods, could not have escaped taking notice of him; but he makes not the least mention of him as worshipped in that country, neither doth any other author that wrote before the times that the Pto-

[f] Vossius, Ouzelius, Spencerus, aliq.

[g] Nymphiodorus. Clem. Alexandr. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. c. 12. Ruffin. ibidem.

[h] Lib. 4. p. 307.

lemys reigned in Egypt. And, when his image was first set up in Alexandria, Nicocreon, then king of Cyprus, as having never heard of him before, [i] sent to know what god he was, which he would not have done had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the Egyptians. For then Nicocreon, who was a very learned prince, must necessarily before that time have had full knowledge of him. And [k] Origen, who was an Egyptian, speaks of him as a god not long before received into that country. And it is to be observed, that, as he was a new god, so he brought in with him among the Egyptians a new way of worship. For, till the time of the Ptolemys, [l] the Egyptians never offered any bloody sacrifices to their gods, but worshipped them only with their prayers and frankincense. But the tyranny of the Ptolemys having forced upon them the worship of two foreign gods, that is, Saturn and Serapis, they in this worship first brought in the use of bloody sacrifices among that people. However, they continued al-

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[i] Macrob. Saturnal, lib. 1. c. 20.

[k] Contra Celsum, lib. 5.

[l] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 7. Verba ejus sunt: Nunquam fas fuit Ægiptiis pecudibus aut sanguine, sed precibus & thure solo placare deos. This was true of the ancient Egyptians. For, among the ancients, Porphyry tells us (De Abstinentia, lib. 2. §. 59.) that the sacrifices with which they worshipped their gods were cakes and the fruits of the earth; and he tells us in the same book (lib. 4. § 15.) of the Syrians, who were next neighbours to the Egyptians, and agreed in many things with them, that they offered no living creatures in sacrifice to their gods. But this could not be true of the Egyptians in Herodotus' time. For it appears from him, that they then offered some animals in sacrifices to their gods, but those were very few; much the greatest number of them were excepted, till the Ptolemys, with the Grecian gods, brought in the Grecian way of worshipping them with all manner of sacrifices; and of this, perchance, may be understood what Macrobius tells us of this matter. Alexander Sardus, in his book De Morribus et Retibus Gentium (lib. 3. cap. 15.) hath these words: "Dicebat Pythagoras se aliquando concilio deorum interfuisse, et didicisse eos Ægyptiorumsacri ficia probare, quæ libationibus constant, thure, et laudibus; non placere, animantium cædes; quæ tamen postea immolarunt Ægyptii, ut Solli gallum, cygnum, taurum; Venerii Columbam; et syderibus, quæ cum syderibus similitudinem habent." This makes fully for what I have said. Sardus had it from some ancient authority, but doth not name his author.

ways so averse hereto, that they would never suffer any temple to be built to either of those gods within any of the walls of their cities; but, wherever they were in that country, they were always built without them in their suburbs. And they seem only to have been the Egyptians of the Greek original who conformed hereto, and not those of the old race. For they still retained their old usage in all their old temples, and could never be induced to offer the blood of beasts in any of them; for this was always an abomination unto them from the beginning. And therefore, when the children of Israel desired leave of Pharaoh to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to offer sacrifice unto the Lord, [m] they gave this for the reason of it, that their religion obliging them to offer to their God the bloody sacrifices of sheep and oxen, [n] and other living creatures, they durst not do this in the sight of the Egyptians, lest they should stone them, because such sort of sacrifices were an abomination to that people; and therefore they desired that they might go to the distance of three days' journey from them to perform this part of their worship unto their God, that, being thus far out of their sight and observation, they might give them no offence, nor provoke them by it to any mischief against them.

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[m] Exod. viii. 26, 27.

[n] The chief cause of this abomination was, that many of those living creatures which the Jews offered in sacrifice were worshipped as gods by the Egyptians, and therefore were never slain by them, nor could they bear the slaying of them by others; of which Diodorus Siculus gives us a sufficient instance (lib. 1. p. 75. edit. Hanov.) where his words are as followeth: Such a superstition towards those sacred animals was ingenerated in their minds, and every one of them was in his affections so obstinately bent to pay honour and veneration to them, that, at a time when Ptolemy their king was not yet declared a friend of the Romans, and all the people studied to court and pay observance to all that came out of Italy, out of fear of the Romans, that they might not give them any cause of displeasure, or reason for war against them, a Roman then in Egypt happening to have slain a cat, the multitude, immediately running together, beset the house where the Roman was, and neither the nobles sent by the king to deprecate their rage, nor the fear of the Romans, could with-hold them from punishing this man with death, though it was by chance, and not wilfully, that he did the fact. Thus far Diodorus. But sheep and cows, which the Jews sacrificed, were in a higher decree sacred among the Egyptians than their cats; and for this reason they could not have borne the Jewish sacrifices among them.

In that place, in the suburb Rhacotis, where the image of Serapis, which Ptolemy brought from Sinope, was set up, was afterwards built a very famous temple to that idol, called the Serapeum, which [o] Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, did, in the magnificence and ornaments of its buildings, exceed all other edifices in the world, next that of the capitol at Rome. Within the verge of this temple there was also [p] a library, which was of great fame in after-ages, both for the number and value of the books it was replenished with. Ptolemy Soter being a learned prince, as appeared by the history of the life of Alexander, written by him (which [q] was of great repute among the ancients, though not now extant,) out of the affection he had for learning, founded at Alexandria [r] a museum or college of learned men for the improving of philosophy, and all other knowledge, like that of the Royal Society at London, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. And, for this use he got together [s] a library of books, which, being augmented by his successors, grew afterwards to a very great bulk. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Soter, left in it, at the time of his death, [t] an hundred thousand volumes. Those that reigned after him of that race still added more to them, [u] till at length they amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. Their method in the collecting of them was thus: [x] They seized all the books that were by any Greek or other foreigner brought into Egypt, and, sending them to the museum, caused them there to be written out by those of that society whom they there maintained, and then sent the transcripts to the owners, and kept the originals to lay up in the library. And particularly it is said of Pto-

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[o] Lib. 22. cap. 26. p. 343.

[p] Marcellinus, ibid. Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Tertullianis in Apologetico, cap. 18.

[q] Arrianus in Præfatione ad Historiam de Expeditione Alexandri. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. c. 8.

[r] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 793. Plutarchus in libro quo probat non posse jucunde vitam agi ex Epicuri Præceptis.

[s] Constat ex Suida Zenodo, tum Ephesium præfuisse Bibliothecæ Alexandrinæ sub Ptolemæ primo.

[t] Euseb. in Chronico, p. 66. Syncellus, p. 271. Cedrenus.

[u] Amm. Marcellinus, lib. 22. cap. 16. A. Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 17. Isidor. Orig. lib. 6. cap. 3.

[x] Gellenus in Comment. 2. in tertium librum Hippocratis, de Moribus Vulgaribus.

emy Euergetes, that, having thus borrowed of the Athenians the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, he sent them back the copies, which he had caused very fairly to be transcribed, and retained the originals for his library, giving them [y] fifteen talents over and above for the same. The [z] museum being placed in the region of the city called Bruchium, near the king's palace, there the library was at first placed also, and had great resort made to it: but afterwards, when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, the [a] other library within the Serapeum was erected by way of supplement to it, and it was therefore called [b] the daughter of the former; and that grew up to have three hundred thousand volumes placed in it: and these two put together made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes in the whole, of which the royal libraries of the Ptolemean kings at Alexandria were said to consist. When Julius Cæsar waged war against the Alexandrians, [c] it happened that the library in Bruchium was burned, and [d] the four hundred thousand volumes that were laid up in it were all consumed. But that in the Serapeum [e] still remained, and there we may suppose, it was, that Cleopatra laid up the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of Pergamus which [f] Antony gave unto her: with which, and other books there reposited, the latter Alexandrian library, being much augmented, soon grew up to be larger, and of more eminent note, than the former; and although it had sometimes been rifled on the commotions and revolutions that happened in the Roman empire (as [g] Orosius particularly complains it had been in his time,) yet it was as

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[y] This amounts to £ 3093, 15s. of our Sterling money.

[z] Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Strabo, lib. 17.

[a] Epiphan. ibid. Tertulian, in Apologetico, cap. 18. Chrysostomus contra Judæos, lib. 1.

[b] Epiphan. ibid.

[c] Plutarchus in Julio Cæsare. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22. c. 16. Dion. Cassius, lib. 42. p. 202.

[d] Livius apud Senecam de Tranquillitate. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 15.

[e] Tertulian, Chrysostomus, Epiphanius, Orosius, and others of the ancients, speak of this library in the Serapeum as still remaining in their time.

[f] Plutarchus in Antonio.

[g] Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 15. This author wrote his history about the year of our Lord 417.

often repaired and replenished again with its full number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till at length it underwent the same fate with the other, and was also burned and finally destroyed by the Saracens, on their making themselves masters of that city. This happened in the year of our Lord 642, [h] in the manner as followeth: Johannes Grammaticus, the famous Aristotelian philosopher, being them living at Alexandria, when the city was taken, and having much ingratiated himself with Amrus Ebnol, the general of the Saracen army, and, by reason of his great learning, made himself acceptable unto him, he begged of him the royal library of Alexandria: to this Amrus replied, that this was not in his power, but was wholly in the disposal of the caliph or emperor of the Saracens; but he promised that he would send to him his request; and accordingly he wrote to Omar, the then caliph, about it. His answer hereto, was, That, if those books contained what was agreeing with the Alcoran, there was no need of them, for the Alcoran alone was sufficient of itself for all truth; but if they contained what was disagreeing with the Alcoran, they were not to be endured: and therefore he ordered, that, whatsoever the contents of them were, they should all be destroyed: whereon being distributed among the public baths, they served as fuel, for six months time, to heat all the baths of Alexandria, which shews how great the number of them was. And in this manner was that inestimable treasure of learning wholly destroyed. According to [i] Tertullian and [k] St. Chrysostom, the Alexandrian library, in which the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, called the Septuagint, was laid up, was that in the Serapeum; but, according to [l] Epiphanius, it was that in the Bruchium, and they were only the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, that were reposited in the Serapeum. The museum, which stood in Bruchium, still lasted, after the library adjoining to it, had been consumed, till at length, that whole quarter of the city was destroyed in a war which they had with Aurelian the Roman emperor. For [m] Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that, till then it had been for a long time the habitation of excellent men, meaning the society of those learned men who had been there maintained for the advancement of

[h] Abulpharagius in Historia Dynastiæ Nonæ, p. 114.
[i] In Apologetico, cap. 18.
[k] Contra Judæos, lib. 1.
[l] De Ponderibus et Mensuris.
[m] Lib. 22. c. 16. p. 343.

human knowledge. Strabo, in the description of this museum, [n] tells us, that it was a large building adjoining to the palace, and standing near the port; that it was surrounded with a portico or piazza, wherein the philosphers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society, which were there admitted, were under the government of a president, whose office was of that consideration and dignity; that, during the reign of the Ptolemys, he was always appointed by those kings, and afterwards by the Roman emperors; and that they had within this building a common hall, where they did eat together, being there plentifully provided for at the public charge. For this museum, from its first erection, had been endowed with large revenues for this purpose; and therefore Timon the Phliasian, who was contemporary with Ptolemy, the first founder of it, [o] called it ταλαγον, because there the philosophers were maintained with plenty of food, like birds (as he said fatted in a coop: for that word in Greek signified a vessel used to put victuals into. However, to this museum it was owing, that Alexandria, for a great many ages together, was the greatest school of learning in all those parts of the world, and a great many men of very excellent literature were bred in it, and, particularly, the Christian church received out of it some of the most eminent of its doctors, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and others; for all these had their education in that city.

Demetrius the Phalerean seems to have been the first president of this museum. For the library being a part of that college, and instituted chiefly for the use of it, it is most likely that he that had the government of the college had the government of the library also, and that they always went thus both together. And therefore, since according to Aristeas, Demetrius had the latter, it is very obvious to infer, that he had the former also. But if, where Aristeas saith this, he be understood as if he meant thereby, that Demetrius was made the king's library-keeper, to look after and take care of the books, they who argue from hence against the authority of that author, argue right; for that was too mean an office for so great a man: for he had been prince of Athens, and governed that state with absolute authority ten years together, and was also a great law-giver, and a great philosopher, and in these respects was reputed one of

[n] Lib. 17. p. 793.

[o] Athenæus, lib. 1. p. 22.

always in this office, as to the pope's library. And lately in France, the archbishop of Rheims, who is by his place primate of the Gallican church, and first peer of the whole realm, thought it an honour to be in the same office, as to the king's library. That, therefore, which we may suppose in this case, and which I think was the truth of the matter, is, that Demetrius being a great scholar, as well as a great statesman and politician, did, on his coming to Ptolemy, put him upon the founding of the museum at Alexandria, for the advancement of learning, and the erecting of his great library there for the use of it, and that, on his prevailing with the king to hearken to these two projects of his proposal, he undertook the charge of carrying on both of them under him. How this great man came to Ptolemy hath been above related in the former part of this history. After [s] he had been driven out of Athens by the prevailing power of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, he retired to Cassander his friend, and lived under his protection till his death; but after that, fearing the brutal ferity of Antipater his son, who had murdered his own mother, he withdrew into Egypt, [t] where he was received with great favour and honour by King Ptolemy Soter, and became his chief counsellor, whom he advised with above all others concerning his most important affairs, as especially he did in the matter of settling the succession of his crown. For he had sons by two wives, who were then both alive. Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and Berenice, an inferior Macedonian lady, who came into Egypt in the retinue of Eurydice, but having gotten to be his wife also, and, by reason of her beauty, gained the first place in his affection, and the greatest ascendant over him, she prevailed with him to disinherit the sons of Eurydice, who were the first born, and place the crown on the head of Philadelphus her son, as hath been already said. Demetrius, on Ptolemy's proposing this to him for his advice, [u] earnestly dissuaded him from it, being moved hereto, not only by what he thought was in justice due to the children of Eurydice, by reason of their birth-right, but also by the affection which he bore to them, for the sake of Cassander, his deceased

[s] Diogenes Laertius in Demetrio. Plutarchus in Demetrio Poliorcete.

[t] Diogenes Laertius ibid. Cicero de Finibus, lib. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. p. 298. Ælian. Histor. Var. lib. 3. c. 17.

[u] Diogenes Lærtius in Demetrio.

her husband, as if Agathocles were laying plots against his life and crown, she induced him by these false accusations to cast him into prison, and there put him to death. Hereon Lysandra with her children, and Ptolemy Ceraunus her brother, fled to Seleucus, and excited him to make war against Lysimachus, and many of Lysimachus' captains and chief followers did the same. For revolting from him out of the abhorrence they had of him for the death of his son, and other cruelties, which he had committed upon it, they went over to Seleucus, and joined with Lysandra, for the persuading of Seleucus to this war; and they the easier prevailed herein, because on other accounts he was then of himself inclined to it.

Anno 282. Ptolemy Philadelph. 3.

And therefore Seleucus, having prepared a great army, marched with it out of the East into Lesser Asia, and having there brought all under him, that belonged to Lysimachus as far as Sardis, he laid siege to that city, [z] and, having taken it, made himself master of all the treasure of Lysimachus, that was laid up in that place.

Anno 281. Ptolemy Philadelph. 4.

Lysimachus, on his having an account of this invasion, made ready an army to repel it, and, [a] passing over the Hellespont, came to a battle with Seleucus at a place called Corupedion in Phrygia, in which he was vanquished and slain; whereby Seleucus became master of all his dominions. But that which most pleased him was, that he was now the survivor of all Alexander's captains, and had made himself by this victory the conqueror of the conquerors, and in this he much vaunted himself; and upon this account may he seem to have acquired the best title to the name of Nicator (*i. e.* the conqueror,) though he had assumed it before, and is commonly called so by historians, to distinguish him from others of the same name who afterwards reigned in Syria.

Anno 280. Ptolemy Philadelph. 5.

But this triumph of his did not last long, for within seven months after, [b] as he was marching into Macedonia to take possession of that kingdom, where he purposed to pass the remainder of his life, he was in the march treacherously slain by Ptolemy

[z] Polyænus, lib. 4. c. 9. § 4.

[a] Justin. lib. 17. c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 9. Pausanius in Atticis. Orosius, lib. 3. c. 23.

[b] Justin. lib. 17. c. 2. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 13. Pausanias in Atticis.

Ceraunus, whom he had received with great kindness into his court on his flight thither, and there maintained him in a princely manner, and carried him with him in this expedition, with purpose, on having finished it with success, to have employed his forces for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. But this wicked traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and basely murdered him. The manner of it is thus told. Seleucus having passed the Hellespont in his way to Macedonia, as he marched on from thence towards Lysimachia (a city which Lysamachus had built near the Isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus) he stopped at a place, where he observed an old altar had been erected, and being told that it was called Argos, this made him very inquisitive about it. For he had been warned, it seems, by an oracle to have a care of Argos, which he understood of the city of Argos in Peloponnesus. But while he was asking several questions about it, and how it came to be called by that name, the traitor came behind him, and thrust him through, and then getting the army to declare for him, seized the kingdom of Macedon. Those who were the soldiers and friends of Lysimachus, looking on him as a revenger of his death, on this account at first had a kind liking unto him, and stuck by him; but he soon gave reason to make them otherwise affected to him. For his sister Arsinoe, with her children still surviving, [c] he thought himself not safe in the possession of Lysimachus' dominions, as long as any of his children remained alive, and therefore, pretending to take Arsinoe to be his wife, and to adopt her two sons which she had by Lysimachus, and having by this means gotten them into his power, he murdered them both on the very feast of the nuptials, and after that, having stripped Arsinoe of all that she had, he sent her to Samothracia into banishment, with two maids only to wait upon her. But Providence did not suffer all those wickednesses to go long unpunished.

For the next year after, [d] Ptolemy waging war against the Gauls, who had invaded Macedonia, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and afterwards on being known was torn by them in pieces, which was a death he sufficiently deserved. For what is above

Anno 279. Ptolemy Philadelph. 6.

[c] Justin. lib. 24. c. 2. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 15.

[d] Justin. lib. 24. c. 5. Memnonis Excerpta, c. 15. Pausanias in Phocis. Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, lib. 22.

related of him fully shews him to have been a man of a most perfidious and wicked temper of mind, and the knowledge which his father had of this, no doubt, was that which most prevailed with him to exclude him from the succession of his crown, and settle it on his younger brother. After his death, Arsinoe retired into Egypt to Ptolemy Philadelphus her brother, who falling in love with her, after [e] he had divorced another Arsinoe, [f] the daughter of Lysimachus, whom he had married immediately on his first accession to the throne, took this sister of his to be his wife, according to the corrupt usage of the Persians and Egyptians, who, from the time of Cambyses, had these incestuous marriages in practice among them, and we have frequent instances of it among the Ptolemean kings, as well as among those that succeeded Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. How Cambyses first gave the ill example for it, hath been afore-related in the former part of this history. The reason why Ptolemy divorced Arsinoe his first wife, was, he had convicted her of being in a plot against his life. For, on the coming of Arsinoe the sister to him, Arsinoe the wife finding that he was fallen in love with her, and that she was thereon neglected, out of a furious jealousy and passion of revenge together, she entered into a conspiracy with Chrysippus her physician and others to cut him off. But the treason being discovered, she was thereon sent into the Upper Egypt as far as the confines of Ethiopia, there to end her days in banishment, after she had brought him two sons and a daughter, the eldest of which was that Ptolemy, who, by the name Euergetes, succeeded him in the throne. And after this removal of her was it, that Ptolemy took the other Arsinoe, his sister, to be his wife in her stead. And although she was now past child-bearing, yet she had such charms to engage his affections, that he never took any other wife as long as he lived, and when she died did not long survive her. In the epistle which, according to Aristeas, Eleazar the high priest of the Jews wrote to him, she is named as his queen and his sister.

On the death of Seleucus, [g] Antiochus, surnamed Soter, his son by Apama, the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian lady, succeeded him in the empire of Asia, and reigned over it nineteen years. As soon as he had heard of his father's death, and secured himself of his dominions in the East, where he then was,

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[e] Theocriti Scholiastes. [f] Pausanias in Atticis.
[g] Appian. in Syriacis. Eusebii Chronicon.

he [h] sent Patrocles, one of his generals, with an army over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia, to take care of his affairs in those parts. On his first arrival he marched against the Heracleans, a colony of the Greeks lying on the Euxine sea, in the country of Pontus, and then a potent state. But matters between them being made up by a treaty, he turned all his force against the Bithynians, and invaded that country; but being drawn into a snare by a stratagem of the enemies' he and his whole army were there all cut off to a man. [i] Zipætes was then king of Bithynia, an aged prince that had reigned there forty-eight years, and was then seventy-six years old, who being overborne with the joy of this victory, soon after died, leaving behind him four sons, the eldest of which was Nicomedes, who succeeding him in the kingdom, to secure himself the better in it, forthwith caused two of his brothers to be cut off; but [k] the youngest, called also Zipætes from his father's name, escaping his power, seized on some part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother. From this Nicomedes were descended the Bithynian kings, of whom we find so frequent mention in the Roman histories. At the [l] same time that he had war with his brother, being threatened with another from Antiochus, who was preparing a great army, to be revenged of him for the death of Patrocles, and the loss of his army with him, he called in the Gauls to his assistance, and on this occasion was it that the Gauls first passed into Lesser Asia. The whole history of this expedition of those barbarous people into those parts is thus related.

In the beginning of this year, it being (as [m] Polybius tells us) the next year after Pyrrhus' first passing into Italy, [n] the Gauls being overstocked at home, sent out a vast number of

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[h] Memnonis Excerpta, c. 16. [i] Memnonis Excerpta, c. 21.
[k] Memnonis Excerpta, cap. 18. Livius, lib. 38.
[l] Memnon. cap. 19, 20, 21. Livius, lib. 38. Justin. lib. 25. cap. 2.
[m] Lib. 1. p. 6.
[n] Pausanias in Phocisis. Justin. lib. 24, 25. Memnonis Excerpta apud. Photium. Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, lib. 22. Livius, lib. 38. Callimachi Hymnus in Delum, et Scholiastes ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλάται. From these authorities is collected all that is said under this and the following years, of the inundation of these barbarous people, made at this time upon Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and the adjacent countries.

their people to seek for new habitations. These dividing themselves into three companies, took three several ways. The first company, under the command of Brennus and Acichorious, marched into Pannonia, the country now called Hungary, The second, under the command of Cerethrius, went into Thrace, and the third, under the command of Belgius, invaded Illyrium and Macedonia; and by these last it was that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain. But, after this victory, they, having dispersed themselves to plunder the country, Sosthenes a Macedonian, getting forces together, took the advantage of this disorder to fall upon them, and, having cut off great numbers of them, forced the rest to retreat out of the country; whereon Brennus and his company came into Macedonia in their stead. This Brennus (being of the same name with him, that, some ages before sacked Rome) was the chief author of this expedition, and therefore was one of the prime leaders in it. On his hearing of the first success of Belgius, and the great prey which he had got by it, he envied him the plunder of so rich a country, and therefore resolved to hasten thither, to take a part in it; which, resolution, after his hearing of the defeat of Belgius, he was much more eagerly excited to, out of a desire of being revenged for it. What became of Belgius and his company is not said, there being after this no more mention made of either. It is most likely he was slain in the overthrow given him by Sosthenes, and that his company after that joined themselves to those that followed Brennus. But however this matter was, Brennus and Acichorius, leaving Pannonia, marched with 150,000 foot, and 15,000 horse, into Illyrium, in order to pass from thence into Macedonia and Greece. But there a sedition happening in the army 20,000 of their men deserted from them, and, under the command of Leonorious and Lutarius, two prime leaders in this expedition, marched into Thrace, and there joining those whom Cerethrius had led there before, seized on Byzantium and the western coasts of the Propontus, and there made all the adjacent parts tributary to them.

Anno 278. Ptolemy Philadelph. 7.

However, Brennus and Acichorius were not discouraged by this desertion, from proceeding in their intended expedition, but having, by new recruits raised among the Illyrians, as well as by others sent them from Gallia, made up their army to the number of 152,000 foot, and 61,200 horse, marched directly with them into Macedonia, and having there overborne Sosthenes with their great numbers, and ravaged the whole coun-

try, passed on to the straits of Thermopylæ, to enter through them into Greece. But, on their coming thither, they were stopped for some time by the forces which they found the Grecians had posted there for the guard and defence of that pass, till they were shewn the same way over the mountains by which the forces of Xerxes had passed before; whereon the guards retiring to avoid being surrounded, Brennus marched on with the gross of the army towards Delphos, to plunder the temple in that city, of the vast riches which were there laid up, ordering Acichorius to follow after with the remainder. But he there met with a wonderful defeat. For, on his approaching the place, there happened a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed great numbers of his men, and, at the same time, there was as terrible an earthquake, which rending the mountains in pieces, threw down whole rocks upon them, which overwhelmed them by hundreds at a time; by which the whole army being much dismayed, they were the following night seized with such a panic fear, that every man, supposing him that was next to him to be a Grecian enemy, they fell upon each other, so that, before there was day-light enough to make them see the mistake, one half of the army had destroyed the other. By all this the Greeks, who were now come together from all parts to defend their temple, being much animated, fell furiously on them, and, although now Acichorius was come up with Brennus, yet both their forces together could not stand the assault, but great numbers of them were slain, and great numbers were wounded, and amongst these last was Brennus himself, who had received several wounds, and although none of them were mortal, yet seeing all now lost, and the whole expedition which he had been the author of thus ending in a dismal ruin, he was so confounded at the miscarriage, that he resolved not to outlive it. And therefore calling to him as many of the chief leaders as could be got together amidst that calamitous hurry, he advised them to slay all the wounded, and with the remainder make as good a retreat backward as they could; and then, having guzzled down as much wine as he could drink, he run himself through, and died. After his death, Acichorius taking upon him the chief command, made as good a retreat as he could towards Thermopylæ, in order to repass those straits, and carry back what remained of this broken army into their own country; but being to make a long march thither all the way through enemies' countries, they were, as they passed, so distressed for want of provisions, which they were every

where to fight for, so incommoded at night, by lodging mostly upon the ground in a winter-season, and in such manner harrassed and fallen upon wherever they came, by the people of those countries through which they passed, that what with famine, cold, and sickness, and what with the sword of their enemies, they were all cut off and destroyed; so that of the numerous company which did first set out on this expedition, not so much as one man escaped in the calamitous fate of miserably perishing in it. Thus was God pleased, in a very extraordinary manner, to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches, for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected. For to believe a religion true, and offer sacrilegious violences to the places consecrated to the devotions of that religion, is absolute impiety, and a sin against all religion, and there are many instances of very signal judgments with which God hath punished it, even among the worst of heathens and infidels, and much more may they expect it, who, having the truth of God established among them, shall become guilty hereof.

In the interim, Leonorius and Lutarius parting from the other Gauls, who had settled themselves on the Propontis, marched down to the Hellespont, and, seizing on Lysimachia, made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but there another sedition arising among them, the two commanders parted their forces, and separated from each other, Lutarius continuing on the Hellespont, and Leonorius with the greater number returned again to Byzantium, from whence he came.

But afterwards Leonorius passing the Bosphorus, and Lutarius the Hellespont, into Asia, they both there again united their forces by a new confederacy, and jointly entered into the service of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who, having by their assistance, the year following, conquered Zipætes his brother, and fixed himself thereby in the thorough possession of all his father's dominions, he assigned them that part of Lesser Asia to dwell in, which from them was afterwards called by those Gallo-Græcia, and by others Galatia; which last name afterwards obtaining from the other, those people, instead of Gauls, were there called Galatians, and from them were descended those Galatians to whom St. Paul wrote one of his canonical epistles.

Anno 277. Ptolemy Philadelph. 8.

The rest of those Gauls that remained in Thrace, afterward making war upon Antigonus Gonatas, who, on the death of

Sosthenes, reigned in Macedonia, they were almost all cut off and destroyed by him. The few that escaped either passed into Asia, and there joined themselves to their countrymen in Galatia, or else scattered themselves in other parts, where they were no more heard of. And thus ended this terrible inundation of those barbarous people, which threatened Macedonia and all Greece with no less than an absolute destruction.

Within the compass of this year [o] Archbishop Usher placeth the making of that Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, which we call the Septuagint. And here all else must place it, who with him believe that history to be genuine, which is written of it under the name of Aristeas, and will hold what is consistent with it herein. For, according to that author, they cannot place it later, because then it would not fall within the time of Eleazar, who is therein said to have been the high priest of the Jews, that sent the seventy-two elders to Alexandria to make this translation; for he died about the beginning of the next year after. And they cannot place it sooner, because then it would be before Ptolemy Philadelphus married Arsinoe, his sister, whom Eleazar, in his epistle, which that author makes him to have written to this prince, calls his queen and his sister. Without entering into long critical discourses concerning this translation, I shall first historically relate the different accounts which are given of it, and then, as briefly as I can, lay down that which appears to me to be the truth of this whole matter.

The ancientest account we have hereof is from a book still extant, under the name of Aristeas, which is professedly written to give us the whole history of it. He is said therein to have been a prime officer in the guards of Ptolemy Philedelphus, king of Egypt, at the time when this affair was transacted. What we are told of it by him is as followeth: Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, being intent on making a great library at Alexandria, and being desirous of getting all manner of books into it, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus a noble Athenian, then living in his court, directing him to procure from all nations whatsoever books were of note among them. Demetrius, in the search he made pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of Moses among the Jews, acquainted the king hereof, whereon he signified his pleasure, that the book should be sent for from Jerusalem, with interpreters from the same

[o] In Annalibus sub A. M. 3727.

place, to render it into Greek. And ordered him to lay before him in writing what was proper to be done herein, that accordingly he might send to the high priest about it. Aristeas, the pretended author of this history of the 72 interpreters, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, three nobles of King Ptolemy's court, having great favour for the Jews, took this opportunity to move the king in the behalf of those of that nation, who had been taken captive by King Ptolemy Soter in those invasions made by him upon Judea which are above mentioned, and were then in bondage in Egypt, telling him, that it would be in vain to expect from the Jews either a true copy of their law, or a faithful translation of it, as long as he kept so many of their countrymen in slavery; and therefore they proposed to him first to release all those Jews, before he should send to Jerusalem about this matter. Hereon the king asked, what the number of those captive Jews might be? Andreas answered, that they might be somewhat above 100,000. And do you then think, said the king, that this is a small matter which Aristeas asketh? To this Sosibius replied, That the greater it was, the more it would become so great a king to do it. Whereon king Ptolemy complying with the proposal, published a decree for the release of all the Jewish captives in Egypt, and ordered 20 drachms an head to be paid out of his treasury to those that had them in servitude for the price of their redemption; and this was computed to amount to 400 talents, which shews the number of the redeemed to have been 120,000: for 400 talents at 20 drachms an head, would redeem just so many. But afterwards the king having ordered the children that were born to those Jews, while in their servitude, and the mothers that bore them, to be also redeemed, this made the whole expence to amount to 660 talents, which proves the whole number of the redeemed, that is, men, women, and children, to have amounted to 198,000. For so many 660 talents, at the price of 20 drachms an head, would have redeemed. When this was done, Demetrius according as he was ordered, laid before the king, in a memorial, the whole method which he thought was proper to be followed for the obtaining from the Jews the book of the law of Moses, which he desired. What he proposed in this memorial was, that a letter should be written to Eleazar the high-priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, to send from thence a true copy of the Hebrew original, and with it six out of each of the twelve tribes of Israel, to translate it into the Greek language. And, according to this proposal, a letter

was written in the king's name to Eleazar the high-priest, to send the book, and with it, for the rendering of it into Greek, six elders out of every tribe, which he should judge best able to perform the work. And Aristeas, the pretended author of this history, and Andreas above mentioned, were sent with this letter to Jerusalem; who carried with them also from the king several gifts for the temple, in money for sacrifices there to be offered, and other uses of the sanctuary, 100 talents; in utensils of silver, 70 talents, and in utensils of gold 50 talents, and precious stones in the adornments of the said utensils, of five times the value of the gold. On their coming to Jerusalem, they were received with great respects by the high-priest, and all the people of the Jews, and had all readily granted them which they went thither for. And therefore, having received from the high-priest a true copy of the law of Moses, all written in golden letters, and six elders out of every tribe, that is 72 in all, to make a version of it into the Greek language, they returned with them to Alexandria. On their arrival, the king calling those elders to his court, made trial of them by 72 questions proposed to them, to each one in their order; and from the answers which they made, approving of their wisdom, he gave to each of them three talents, and sent them into the island of Pharus adjoining to Alexandria, for the performing of the work which they came for. Where Demetrius having conducted them over the Heptastadium (a bank of seven furlongs in length, which joined that island to the continent) into an house there provided for them, they forthwith betook themselves to the business of the interpretation, and as they agreed in the version of each period by common conference together, Demetrius wrote it down, and thus, in the space of 72 days, they performed the whole work; whereon the whole work being read over, and approved of in the king's presence, the king gave to each of them three rich garments, two talents in gold, and a cup of gold of a talent weight, and then sent them all home into their own country. Thus far Aristeas.

Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, and a Peripatetic philosopher, is the next that makes mention of this version. He flourished in the 188th year of the æra of contracts (that is, in the 125th year before Christ,) for then a letter was written to him by the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa, as we have it[p]

[p] Chap. i. ver. 10. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. c. 9.

in the second book of the Maccabees. This Aristobulus [q] is said to have written a comment on the five books of Moses, and to have dedicated them to King Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he had been preceptor, and therein to have spoken of this Greek version made under the care and protection of Demetrius Phalereus, by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt. The book is not now extant. All that remains of it are some few fragments quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus and [r] Eusebius, in which having asserted that Pythagoras, Plato, and other Grecians, had taken most of their philosophy from the Hebrew scriptures, to make this seem the more probable, he tells us, these scriptures had been for the most part translated into Greek, before the times of Alexander and the Persian empire; but that under Ptolemy Philadelphus, a more perfect translation was made of the whole, by the care of Demetrius Phalereus.

The next that makes mention of this version is Philo, another Alexandrian Jew, who was contemporary with our Saviour. For it was but a little after the time of his crucifixion that he was sent in an embassy from the Jews of Alexandria, to [s] Caius Cæsar the Roman emperor. In this account he [t] tells us the same that Aristeas doth, of King Ptolemy Philadelphus' sending to Jerusalem for elders to make this version; of the questions proposed to them on their first arrival, for the trial of their wisdom; and of their retiring into the Island of Pharus, for the accomplishing of this work, and of their finishing it there, in that retirement; and thus far he plainly writes after Aristeas. But he farther adds, what Aristeas gives him no foundation for, that, in their interpretations, they all so exactly agreed, as not to differ so much as in a word; but to have rendered every thing not only in the same sense, but also in the same phrases and words of expression, so as not to vary in the least each from other through the whole work. From whence he infers, that they acted not herein as common interpreters, but as men prophetically inspired, and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them, by the Holy Spirit of God, through the whole version. And he adds far-

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[q] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 1. & 5.

[r] Canon Chron. p. 187. Præp. Evang. lib. 7. c. 13. lib. 8. c. 9. lib. 13. c. 12.

[s] Philo de Legatione ad Caium Cæsarem.

[t] De Vita Mosis. lib. 2.

ther, that, in commemoration of this work, the Jews of Alexandria kept a solemn anniversary, one day in every year, when they went over into the island of Pharus, and there spent that day in feasting, and rejoicing, and giving praise to God for his divine assistance, in so wonderful a manner given by him in the making of this version.

Josephus, who wrote his Antiquities of the Jews, towards the end of the first century after Christ, agreeth with Aristeas in his relation of this matter, [u] what he writes of it being no more than an abridgement of that author. And Eusebius, who flourished about 220 years after him, doth the same, [x] giving us of it no other account, but what he found in Aristeas, and is now extant in him; only as to Josephus, it must be acknowledged, there is a variation in his account concerning the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews: for whereas Aristeas saith, it was 20 drachms an head, and that the sum total amounted to 660 talents, Josephus lays it at 120 drachms an head, and the sum total at 460 talents; in all other things they exactly agree.

The next author after Josephus who makes mention of this version, and the manner of making it, was Justin Martyr, a Christian writer, who flourished [y] in the middle of the second century, about 100 years after Philo. He having been at Alexandria, and there discoursed with the Jews of that place concerning this matter, tells us what he found there related, and was then firmly believed among them, concerning it. Whereby it appears, that what Philo tells us of the wonderful agreement of the interpreters, in the making of that version, was much further improved by his time. For they had then added to the story distinct cells for the interpreters, and the fiction of their being shut up, all in them apart from each other, one in each cell, and of each of them therein making a distinct version by himself, and all agreeing together to a word, on the comparing of what each had done; which the good man swallowing with a thorough credulity, writes of it in the words following.

"[z] Ptolemy, king of Egypt, having a mind to erect a "library at Alexandria, caused books to be brought thither "from all parts to fill it, and being informed, that the Jews

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[u] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

[x] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8. c. 2—5.

[y] He wrote his first apology for the Christians, A. D. 140.

[z] Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 14.

" kept with great care ancient Histories written in Hebrew, " and being desirous to know what these writings contained, " sent to Jerusalem for 70 learned men, who understood the " Hebrew and the Greek languages, and ordered them to " translate those books; and, to the end they might be the " more at quiet and free from noise, and thereby be enabled " the sooner to make this translation, he would not have " them stay in the city, but caused to be built for them, in the " island of Pharus, seven furlongs from Alexandria, as many " little houses or cells as there were interpreters, that each " might there, apart by himself, make his version. And he " enjoined those who served them to do them all sorts of " good offices, but to prevent their conferring together, that " he might know, by the conformity of their versions, whe- " ther their translation was true and exact. And finding " afterwards that these 70 persons did not only agree in the " sense, but also in the same terms, so that there was not one " word in any one of their versions which was not in all the " other, but that they all wrote, word for word, the same ex- " pressions, he was surprised with admiration, and not doubt- " ing but that this version was made by the Spirit of God, " he heaped honours upon the interpreters, whom he looked " on as men dear unto God, and sent them home laden with " presents to their own country. And, as to the books, he " received them with that veneration which was due to them, " looking on them as divine books, and placed them in his " library." And then the holy man adds, for the confirming of this story, which he himself thoroughly believed as true: " These things which we now relate unto you, O " Greeks, are not fables and feigned stories. For we our- " selves having been at Alexandria, did there see the ruins " of those little houses or cells, in the island of Pharus, there " still remaining; and what we now tell you of them we had " from the inhabitants of the place, who had received it from " their forefathers by undoubted tradition." And,[a] in another place, he saith of the same matter: " When Ptolemy " king of Egypt was preparing a library, in which he pur- " posed to gather together the writings of all men, having " heard of the writings of the prophets among the Jews, he " sent to Herod, then king of the Jews, to desire him to trans- " mit to him those books of the prophets. Whereon King " Herod sent them unto him, written in the Hebrew lan-

[a] Apologia secunda pro Christianis.

"guage. But whereas those books, as written in this lan-
"guage, were wholly unintelligible to the Egyptians, he sent
"a second time to Herod to desire him to send interpreters
"to translate them into the Greek language; which being
"done, these books, thus translated, are still remaining
"among the Egyptians, even to this day, and copies of them
"are now in the hands of the Jews, in all places wheresoever
"they are."

[b] Irenæus, [c] Clemens Alexandrinus, [d] Hilary, [e] Austine, [f] Cyril of Jerusalem, [g] Philastrius Brixiensis, and the generality of the ancient fathers that lived after Justin, follow him in this matter of the cells, and the wonderful agreement of all the versions made in them. And some also of the moderns are zealous contenders for the truth of this story, being fond of a miracle which would so much conduce to the confirming of the divine authority of the holy scriptures against all gainsayers; and it is much to be wished, that it were built upon such authority as would not admit of any of those objections which are urged against it.

By the time of Epiphanius, who was made bishop of Salamine, in Cyprus (A. D. 368,) false traditions had further corrupted this story. For he gives a relation of the matter which differs from that of Justin, as well as of Aristeas, and yet he quotes Aristeas even in those particulars which he relates otherwise than that author doth; which shews, that there was another Aristeas in his time different from that which we now have, though it be plain, that the author which is now extant with us under that name is certainly the same which Josephus and Eusebius used. What Epiphanius writes hereof would be too long to be all here inserted. The sum of it is, [h] That Ptolemy Philadelphus, designing to make a library at Alexandria, sent to all countries to procure copies of their books to put into it, and committed it to the care of Demetrius Phalereus to manage this whole matter; by whom being informed of the books of the holy scriptures, which the Jews then had at Jerusalem, he sent an embassy thither, with a letter to the high-

[b] Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3. cap. 15.
[c] Strom. lib. 1.
[d] In Psalm 2.
[e] De Civitate Dei, lib. 18. c. 43.
[f] Catechism 4. p. 37.
[g] Hæres. 90.
[h] Epiphanius in libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.

priest, to procure a copy of the said books. That hereon the Jews sent 22 canonical books, and 72 apocryphal, all written in Hebrew. But Ptolemy not being able to read them in that language, he sent a second embassy to Jerusalem for interpreters to make a second version of them into Greek: for which purpose a second letter was written to the high priest; and that the Jews, on the receipt of this letter, sent him 72 interpreters, chosen six out of every tribe, who made the version according as was desired. The manner in which he saith this was done will best appear from his own words: they are as followeth. "[i] The 72 interpreters were in the island of "Pharus (which lieth over against Alexandria, and in respect "of it is called the Upper-land,) shut up in 36 little houses "or cells, by two and two in a cell, from morning till night, "and were every night carried, in 36 boats, to King Pto-"lemy's palace, there to sup with him, and then were lodged "in 36 bed-chambers, by two and two in a chamber, that "they might not confer together about the said version, but "make it faithfully according to what appeared to them to "be the true meaning of the text. For Ptolemy built in "that island, over against Alexandria, those 36 cells, which I "have mentioned, of that capacity, as that they were suffi-"cient to contain each of them two of the said interpreters, "and there he did shut them up by two and two, as I have "said, and two servants with them in each cell, to provide "them with food, and minister unto them in all things ne-"cessary, and also writers, to write down the versions as they "made them. To these cells he made no windows in the "walls, but only opened for them above such lights in the "roofs of the said cells as we call sky-lights. And thus con-"tinuing from morning till night, there closely shut up, they "made the version in manner as followeth: To each pair of "interpreters one book was given, as, for example, the book "of Genesis was given to one pair, the book of Exodus to "another pair, the book of Leviticus to a third, and so of all "the rest, a book to each pair in their order; and in this "manner all the 27 books above mentioned, which are now, "according to the number of the Hebrew letters, reduced to "22, were translated out of the Hebrew into the Greek lan-"guage." And then, a little after, he further saith: "[k] And "therefore these 27 books, now numbered to be 22, with the "Psalter, and what is annexed to Jeremiah, that is, the La-

[i] Epiphanius, ibid. p. 161.

[k] Ibid. p. 163.

"mentations, and the epistles of Baruch (though these epis-
"tles are not found in the Hebrew canon of the holy scrip-
"tures; for in that the Lamentations only are annexed to
"Jeremiah,) were in this manner distributed among the 36
"pair of interpreters, and afterwards were sent every one of
"them round to them, that is, from the first pair to the
"second, and from the second to the third, and so on, till
"each book had been translated into Greek once by each
"pair, and the whole of it by all of them 36 times, as com-
"mon tradition reports the matter; and to them were added
"22 apocryphal books. And when all was finished, the king
"sitting on high on his throne, 36 readers came before him
"with the 36 translations; and another reader stood there
"also, who had the original Hebrew copy in his hand; and,
"while one of these readers did read his copy aloud, the rest
"diligently attended, and went along with him, reading to
"themselves in their copies, and examining thereby what was
"written in them; and no variety or difference was found in
"any one of them."

Thus far having given an account of all that is related by the ancients concerning the manner of the making this version, which we call the Septuagint, I shall now lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the whole matter in these following positions:

I. That there was a translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, made in the time that the Ptolemys reigned in Egypt, is not to be doubted: for we still have the book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour's time; for most of those passages which the holy penmen of the New Testamen do, in the Greek original of it, quote out of the Old Testament, are now found verbatim in this version. And, since the Egyptian princes of the Ptolemean race were so fond, as the writers of those times tell us, of replenishing their library at Alexandria, with all sorts of books, there is no reason but to believe, that a copy of this translation, as soon as it was made, was put into it.

II. The book going under the name of Aristeas, which is the ground-work and foundation of all that is said of the manner of making this translation, by 72 elders sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is a manifest fiction, made out of design thereby to give the greater authority to this translation. The Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, to the time of our Saviour, were much given to religious romances, a

appears from their apocryphal books still extant, many of which are of this sort; and that the book which we now have under the name of Aristeas was such a romance, and written by some Hellenistical Jew, plainly appears from these following reasons. For,

1. The author of that book, though pretended to be an Heathen Greek, every where speaks as a Jew, and delivers himself in all places, where he makes mention either of God or the Jewish religion, in such terms as none but a Jew could; and he brings in Ptolemy, Demetrius, Andreas, Sosibius, and others, speaking after the same manner, which clearly proves, that no Aristeas, or Heathen Greek, but some Hellenistical Jew, under his name, was the author of that book.

2. He makes Ptolemy advance an incredible sum of money for the obtaining of this version. For, according to him, Ptolemy expended, in redeeming the captive Jews that were in his kingdom, 660 talents; in vessels of silver sent to the temple, 70 talents; in vessels of gold, 50 talents, and, in precious stones to adorn and embellish these vessels, to the value of five times the gold, that is, 250 talents; in a gift for sacrifices, and other uses of the temple, 100 talents: and then he gave to each of the 72 interpreters, at their first coming, three talents a-piece in silver, that is, 216 talents in the whole; and lastly, to each of them, at their parting, two talents in gold, and a gold cup of a talent weight: all which put together make, in the sum total, 1046 talents of silver, and 516 talents of gold, which being reduced to our Sterling money, amounts to [1] £. 1,918,537. 10s.; and, if we add hereto the value of other gifts, which, according to Aristeas, were bestowed on these 72 elders by the bounty of the king, and the charges which it cost him in fetching them to Alexandria, maintaining them there, and sending them back again to Jerusalem, this may be computed to mount that sum near to 2,000,000 Sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty times as much as that whole library was ever worth. And who can then believe, that this narrative, which makes Ptolemy expend so much for one single book in it, and which neither he nor any of his court, as long as they continued Heathens, could have any great value for, can be a true and genuine history?

[1] That is, computing these talents by Attic talents, and valuing them according to Dr. Bernard. If they be computed by the talents of Alexandria, where the scene of action is laid, they will amount to twice as much.

3. The questions proposed to the 72 interpreters, and their answers to them manifestly carry with them the air of fiction and romance. If it should appear likely to any (as I confess it doth not unto me,) that Ptolemy should trouble himself to propose to them such questions, he must be a person of great credulity, that will believe those answers to have been given extempore to them. Whoever will judge rationally of this matter, must necessarily acknowledge, that they were framed by artifice and premeditation to the questions, and that both were the inventions of him that made the book.

4. The making of 72 elders to be sent to Alexandria from Jerusalem on this occasion, and these to be chosen by six out of every tribe, by the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, all looks like a Jewish invention, framed with respect to the Jewish sanhedrim, and the number of the twelve tribes of Israel; it not being likely, that Demetrius, an Heathen Greek, should know any thing of their twelve tribes, or of the number of their 72 elders, of which their sanhedrim did consist. The names of Israel, and the twelve tribes, were then absorbed in that of the Jews, and few knew of them in that age by any other appellation. Although some of the other tribes joined themselves to the Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, as I have before observed, and thereby the names of those tribes might still be preserved amongst their descendents; yet, it is not to be supposed that all were so, but that some of the names of those other tribes were wholly lost, and no more in being, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that therefore no such choice could then be made out of them for the composing of this version. But, if it were otherwise, yet that there should be six out of every tribe, or indeed 72 of the whole nation, then living in Judea, fully qualified for this work, seems by no means likely. Till the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews had no communication with the Greeks, and from his having been at Jerusalem (from which time only this communication first began) there had now passed only 55 years. During this time, no doubt, some of them might have learned the Greek tongue, especially after so many of them had been planted by Ptolemy at Alexandria, and by Seleucus at Antioch, in both which cities the prevailing number of the inhabitants were of the Greek nation. But that six of every tribe should then be found thus skilful in the land of Judea, where there was then no reason for them to learn this language, is not to be imagined. But this is not all the difficulty of the matter. Those who were to do this work must have

been thoroughly skilled also in the Hebrew, which was the language of the original text, as well as in the Greek, into which they were to translate it. But at this time the Hebrew was no longer among them their common speech. The Chaldee, since their return from Chaldea, was become their mother tongue, and the knowledge of the Hebrew was thenceforth confined only to the learned among them: and, those learned men being such as taught and governed the people at home, they had no opportunity by converse with the Greeks, to learn their language, nor indeed had they any occasion for it. So that, for the making out of this story, we must suppose, 1*st*, That there were many of every tribe of Israel then living in Judea; 2*dly*, That there were several in each of these tribes well learned in the Hebrew text; and, 3*dly*, That there were in each of them, of this last sort, so many thoroughly skilled in the Greek language, as that out of them a choice might be made of six for each tribe fully qualified for this work: each particular hereof at this time seems utterly improbable; but the whole doth much more so, when all is put together.

5. Neither can any probable reason be given, why seventy-two should be sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, when seven were more than enough for the work. Some of the ancientest of the Talmudists say, [m] that there were only five that were employed in it; and this is by much the more likely of the two.

6. There are several particulars in this book which cannot accord with the histories of those times. 1*st*, In none of them is there any mention of the victory which Aristeas makes Ptolemy Philadelphus to have obtained against Antigonus at sea. If by this Antigonus he means Antigonus the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, he was dead 17 years before Ptolemy Philadelphus was king of Egypt; and if he means the son of that Demetrius, called Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedon, there is no author who speaks of any such victory obtained by Ptolemy Philadelphus over him. And, 2*dly*, Whereas Menedemus the philosopher is said in this author to have been present, when the seventy-two interpreters answered the questions proposed to them by Ptolemy, it is manifest by what is written of him by authors of undoubted credit, that he could not have been at this time in

[m] Tract. Sopherim, c. 1

Egypt, if he were then alive, [n] which it is most likely he was not. But, *3dly*, What doth evidently convict of falsity this whole story of Aristeas is, that he makes Demetrius Phalerius to be the chief actor in it, and a great favourite of the king's at this time; whereas he was so far from being in any favour with him, that none was more out of it, or was less likely to be trusted or employed in any matter by him, and that for good reason. For he had earnestly dissuaded Ptolemy Soter his father from settling the crown upon him: for [o] which reason Philadelphus looking on him as his greatest enemy, as soon as his father was dead (under whose favour he had till then been protected) he cast him into prison where he soon after died, in the manner as hath been already related, and therefore he could bear no part in the transacting of this matter.

Many other arguments there are which prove the spuriousness of this book. They who would further examine hereinto, may read what hath been written of it by [p] Du Pin, [q] Richard Simon the Frenchman, and by Dr. Hoddy, the late worthy professor of the Greek language at Oxford; whose account of this, and other matters relating to the holy scriptures, in his learned and accurate book, *De Bebliorum Textibus Originalibus, versionibus Græcis & Latina vulgata*, is very worthy of any man's reading.

III. As to Aristobulus, what he saith of this version's being made by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus, is no more than what is taken out of Aristeas; that book, it seems, having been forged before his time, and then gotten into credit among the Jews of Alexandria, when he took this out of it. For the 188th year of the æra of contracts, the time [r] in which he is said to flourish, being 152 years after that in which we place the making of this version, that was long enough for this fiction concerning it to have been formed, and also to have grown into such credit among the Jews, as,

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[n] It appears by what is written of him by Diogenes Laertius, lib. 2. that he died soon after the end of the Gallic war in Greece being very aged at the time of his death.

[o] Diogenes Laertius in Vita Demetrii Phalerei.

[p] History of the Canon and Writers of the books of the Old and New Testament, part 1. c. 6. § 3.

[q] Critical History of the Old Testament, book 2. c. 2.

[r] 2 Maccabees, c. 1. 10.

to be believed by them. For if we allow 100 years for the former, that is, for the framing of this fiction, by that time all persons might have been dead, and all things forgotten, that might contradict it, and 52 years after might have been sufficient for the latter, that is for its growing into the credit of a true history among the Jews. As to other things related of this Aristobulus, that is, that he was preceptor to the king of Egypt, and that he wrote commentaries on the five books of Moses, and dedicated them to Ptolemy Philometor, they are all justly called in question by learned men. As to his being king Ptolemy's master, this is said of him (2 Maccab. i. 10.) in the 188th year of the æra of contracts, when it was by no means likely he could have been in that office: for the Ptolemy that then reigned in Egypt was Ptolemy Physcon; and the 188th year of the æra of contracts was the 21st year of his reign, [5] the 56th after his father's death; and therefore he must then have been about 60 years old, if not more; which is an age past being under the tuition of a master. If it be said, he might still retain the title, though the office had been over many years before, the reply hereto will be, that he must then have been of a very great age, when mentioned with this title: for men use not to be made tutors to princes, till of eminent note, and of mature age; 40 is the least we can suppose him of, when appointed to this office, if he ever was at all in it: and supposing he was first called to it, when Ptolemy Physcon was ten years old, he must have been 90 at least at the time when this title was given him in the place above cited. And if he had been preceptor to Ptolemy Physcon, how came it to pass that he should dedicate his book of commentaries on the law of Moses to Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned before Physcon? If any such book had been at all made by him, it is most likely he would have dedicated it to that Ptolemy who had been his pupil, and not unto the other, whom he had no such especial relation to. And as to what he has said to have written in these commentaries, of there having been a Greek version of the law before that of the Septuagint, and that the Greek philosophers borrowed many things from thence, it looks all like fiction. The light of reason, or else ancient traditions, might have led them to the saying of many things, especially in moral matters, which accord with what is found in the writings of Moses; and if not, yet there were other ways of coming at them without

[5] It was according to Ptolemy's Canon.

such a version. Converse with the Jews might suffice for it, and particular instruction might be had from some of their learned men for this purpose; and [t] such, Clearchus tells us, Aristotle had from a learned Jew in the Lower Asia. That there ever was such a version, no other writing besides these fragments quoted from Aristobulus do make the least mention. Neither is it likely, that there should ever have been any such: for till the Jews settled among the Greeks at Alexandria, and there learned their language, and forgot their own (which was not done till some time after the death of Alexander,) there was no use of such a Greek version of the law among them. And, if it had been thus translated before, what need was there of having it done again in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus? All these things put together create a suspicion among learned men, that the commentaries of Aristobulus came out of the same forge with Aristeas, that is, were written under the name of Aristobulus by some Hellenistical Jew, long after the date which they bore. And it augments this suspicion, that Clemens Alexandrinus is the first that makes mention of them. For had there been any such commentaries on the law of Moses, and written, in the time when said, by so eminent a Jew, and so famous a philosopher, as Aristobulus is related to be, Philo Judæus, and Josephus, could not have escaped making use of them: but neither of these writers make the least mention of any such commentaries; which is a strong argument, that there were none such extant in their time; and those who mention them afterwards, speak very inconsistently of this Aristobulus, whom they make to be the author of them. Sometimes they tell us, that he dedicated his book to [u] Ptolemy Philometor; at other times they say it was [x] to Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father together. Sometimes they will have it [y] that he was the same that is mentioned in the first chapter of the 2d book of Maccabees; and sometimes they make him to have been [z] one of the 72 interpreters 152 years before; which uncertainty about him, makes it most likely that there was never

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[t] See part 1. book 7. under the year 318. p. 558.

[u] Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. lib. Eusebii Chronicon. p. 187. & Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12.

[x] Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. lib. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8. c. 9.

[y] Clemens Alexandrinus & Eusebius, ibid.

[z] Anatolius apud Eusebium in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 7. c. 32.

any such person at all. That passage, where he is spoken of in the 2d book of the Maccabees, is no proof for him; for the letter which is made mention of in it, being there said to have been sent to him from the people that were at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and the council, and Judas; this plainly proves that whole passage to be of the same nature with most other things written in the two first chapters of that 2d book of Maccabees, that is, all fable and fiction. For, by the Judas there mentioned, the writer of that book can mean no other Judas, than Judas Maccabæus. But [a] he was slain in battle 36 years before the date of this letter. Whatsoever these commentaries were, they seem not to have been long lived; for as Clemens Alexandrinus was the first of the ancients, so Eusebius was the last, that makes mention of them.

After that time, it is most likely they grew out of reputation, and were no more heard of. Upon the whole, they that hold this book to have been spurious, and all that is said of the author of it to be fable and fiction, seem to say *that*, which in all likelihood is the truth of the matter.

IV. What Philo adds to the story of Aristeas, was from such traditions as had obtained among the Jews of Alexandria in his time, which had the same original with all the rest, that is, were invented by them, to bring the greater honour and credit to themselves, and their religion; and also to gain among the vulgar of their own people the greater authority and veneration to that version of the holy scriptures which they then used. And when such things had once obtained belief, it was easy to introduce an anniversary commemoration of them, and continue it afterwards from year to year, in the manner as Philo relates.

V. Where Josephus differs from Aristeas in the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews, there is a manifest error; for the sum total doth not agree with the particulars. The number of the Jews redeemed, [b] Josephus saith, were 120,000; the redemption of these, at 20 drachms an head, at which Aristeas lays it, would come to just 400 talents, which is the sum also which he reckons it to amount to. But Josephus saith, the redemption money was 120 drachms an head, which is six times as much, and yet he makes the sum total to be no more than 460 talents. The error is in the numerical letters; for either the particulars must be less, or the sum must be more: but whether it was

[a] 1 Maccab. ix. 18. [b] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

the author or the transcribers that made this error I cannot say, Those [c] who hold Josephus to have put the price at 120 drachms an head (which was just 30 Jewish shekels,) that so it might answer what [d] was paid for an Hebrew servant according to the law of Moses, do fix the error on the author; but then they make him guilty of a great blunder, in not altering the sum total as well as the particulars, so as to make them both agree with each other.

VI. As to Justin Martyr, and the rest of the Christian writers that followed him, it is plain they too greedily followed what they wished might be true. Had the seventy-two interpreters, who are said to have made this version of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, been all separated into so many different cells, and had all there apart, every one by himself, made so many versions as there were persons, and all these versions had exactly agreed with each other, without any difference or variation in any one of them from all the rest, this would have been a miracle, which must have irrefragably confirmed the truth of those scriptures, as well as the authority of the version which was then made of them, against all gainsayers. And for both these the Christians of those times were altogether as much concerned as the Jews; for the foundations of our holy Christian profession are laid upon the Old Testament as well as on the New. And this part of the holy scriptures was, out of Judea, no where else, in those times, read among Christians, but in this Greek version, or in such other versions as were made into other languages from it, excepting only at Antioch, and in the Syrian churches depending from that see, where they had a Syriac version from the beginning, immediately translated from the Hebrew original. And therefore Justin Martyr, finding these traditions among the Jews at Alexandria, on his being in that city, was too easily persuaded to believe them, and made use of them in his writings against the Heathens of his time, in defence of the religion he professed. And upon this authority it was, that Irenæus, and the other Christian writers above mentioned, tell us the same thing, being equally fond of the argument, by reason of the purpose it would serve to. But how little the authority of Justin was to be depended upon, in this matter, may sufficiently ap-

[c] Usserius in Annalibus Veteris Testamenti, sub Anno J. P. 4437. Hoddius de Bibliorum, Textibus Originalibus, lib. 1. c. 1.

[d] Exod. xxi. 32.

pear from the inaccurate account which he gives us of it; for he makes Ptolemy, when intent upon having the Hebrew scriptures for his library, to send [e] to King Herod first for a copy of them, and afterwards for interpreters to turn them into the Greek language; whereas, not only Ptolemy Philadelphus, but all the other Ptolemys who reigned after him in Egypt, were all dead before Herod was made King of Judea. So great a blunder in this narrative is sufficient to discredit all the rest. And it is further to be taken notice of, that, though Justin was a learned man and a philosopher, yet he wa a very credulous person, and, when he became a Christian, was carried on, by the great zeal he had for his religion, too lightly to lay hold of any story told him which he thought would any way make for it. An instance hereof, is, [f] that, being at Rome, and there finding a statue consecrated to Simon Sancus, an old Semi-god of the Sabines, he was easily persuaded to believe it to be the statue of Simon Magus; and therefore, in his second apology, upon no better foundation than this, he upbraids the people of Rome for the making of such a wretch and impostor to be one of their gods. And it was from the like easiness and credulity, that, being shewn by the Jews at Alexandria, the ruins of some old houses in the island of Pharus, he was by them made believe that they were the remains of the cells in which, they told him the 72 interpreters made their version of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; and hereon he gives us that account of it which I have above related. But Jerom, who was a person of much greater learning, and far more judicious, rejects this story of the cells with that scorn and contempt which it seems to deserve. His words are: [h] "I know not what author "he was, that, by his lying, first built the 70 cells at Alexan- "dria, in which the 70 elders being divided, wrote the same "things; seeing neither Aristeas, who was one of the same "Ptolemy's guards, nor Josephus, who lived long after him,

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[e] Justin. in Apologia secunda pro Christianis.

[f] Justin. in Apologia prima pro Christianis. Euseb. in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 2. c. 13.

[g] This very statue was lately dug up at Rome, with this inscription on it, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio*. See Valesius' notes on the 13th chapter of the 2d book of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.

[h] Præfat. ad Pentateuchum, et in Apologia secunda contra Ruffinum.

"say any such thing, but write, that they conferred together "in one and the same room, and did not prophesy; for "to be a prophet is one thing, and to be an interpreter is "another."

VII. Epiphanius' account of the making of this version differing from all the rest, seems to have been taken from some other history of it than that which Josephus and Eusebius wrote from. It is probable some Christian writer, after the time of Justin Martyr, might have collected together all that he found written or said of this matter, and grafting the whole upon the old Aristeas, with such alterations as he thought fit to make in it, composed that book, which, under the name of Aristeas, fell into Epiphanius' hands, and that from thence he took all that he writes of this matter. It is certain, that the Aristeas which Epiphanius makes use of was not written till many years after the pretended author of that book must have been dead; for the second letter which Epiphanius, out of him tells us, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Eleazar, begins with this sentence: "Of an hidden trea-"sure, and a fountain stopped up, what profit can there be "in either of them? which is taken out of [i] the book of Ecclesiasticus; but that book was not published by Siracides [k] till the year before Christ 132, which was 115 years after the death of Ptolemy *Philadelphus*, by whose command, according to that author, this version was made. And it also seems to me as certain, that it could not be written till after the time of Justin Martyr; for all that is said of the cells, it is plain, had its original from that report which he brought back from Alexandria concerning them, on his return from his travels to that city. [l] Epiphanius retains this tale of his of the cells, but contracts them to half the number: for he makes them to be but 36, and puts two interpreters together into each of them. By this means 36 copies are made to suffice for all that laboured in this work; whereas, according to Justin, they being shut up each one singly by himself in his separate cell, there must have been as many copies as interpreters. But in this they do not so much differ

[i] Ecclesiasticus xx. 30. xli. 14.

[k] It appears by the preface of Siracides to his book of Ecclesiasticus, that he came not into Egypt (where he published that book) till the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes II which was the year before Christ 132.

[l] In libro de Ponderibus & Mensuris.

from each other as both do from Aristeas: for he saith, that they brought with them from Jerusalem but one copy in all, and that out of this alone they made the version by common consult, sitting together in one common hall, and there carrying on and finishing the whole work. And this one copy, Aristeas saith, was written in letters of gold; which contradicts an ancient constitution of the Jews, whereby it is ordained among them, [m] That the law is never to be written otherwise than with ink only. Epiphanius moreover saith, that, besides the canonical books, there were sent from Jerusalem, on this occasion, 72 apocryphal books; which none of the rest that write of this matter before him make any mention of. And, of these, 72 books, he makes 22 only to have been translated; whereas he seems elsewhere to imply, that all were translated that were sent. These contradictions, uncertainties, and various accounts, overthrow the credit of the whole story, and plainly prove all that hath been delivered to us concerning it by Aristeas, Philo, Justin Martyr, Epiphanius, and their followers, to be no more than fable, fiction, and romance, without any other foundation for it, save only, that, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, such a version of the law of Moses was made by the Alexandrian Jews into the Greek language, as those authors relate. For,

VIII. Alexander, on his building of Alexandria, brought a great many Jews thither to help to plant this his new city, as [n] hath been already mentioned; and Ptolemy Soter, after his death, having fixed the seat of his government in that place, and set his heart much upon the augmenting and adorning of it, [o] brought thither many more of this nation for the same purpose; where, having granted unto them the same privileges with the Macedonians and other Greeks, they soon grew to be a great part of the inhabitants of that city; and their constant intercourse with the other citizens, among whom they were there mingled, having necessitated them to learn and constantly use the Greek language, that happened to them here as had before at Babylon on the like occasion, that is, by accustoming themselves to a foreign language, they forgot their own; and therefore, no longer understanding the Hebrew language, in which they had been hitherto first read, nor the Chaldee, in which they were after that interpreted in

[m] Vide Shickardi Mishpat Hammelec, c. 2.

[n] Part 1. book 7. under the year 332.

[o] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 2.

every synagogue, they had them translated into Greek [p] for their use, that this version might serve for the same purpose in Alexandria and Egypt, as the Chaldee paraphrases afterwards did in Jerusalem and Judea. And this was the original and true cause of the making of that Greek version, which hath since, from the fable of Aristeas, been called the Septuagint: for that fable, from the first broaching of it, having generally obtained, first among the Jews, and afterwards among the Christians, soon caused that this name was given to that version. At first the law only was translated: for then they had no need of the other books in their public worship, no other part of the holy Scriptures, save the law only, having been in those times read in their synagogues, [q] as hath been before taken notice of. But afterward, when the reading of the prophets also came into use in the synagogues of Judea, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the occasion [q] already mentioned, and the Jews of Alexandria (who in those times conformed themselves to the usages of Judea and Jerusalem in all matters of religion,) were induced hereby to do the same, this caused a translation of the prophets also to be there made into the Greek language, in like manner as the law had been before. And, after this other persons translated the rest for the private use of the same people: and so that whole version was completed which we now call the Septuagint; and, after it was thus made, it became of common use among all the churches of the Hellenistical Jews, wherever they were dispersed among the Grecian cities. 1*st*, That the law only was at first translated into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadel-

[p] After the time of Ezra, the scriptures were read to the Jews in Hebrew, and interpreted into the Chaldee language; but at Alexandria, after the making of this version, it was interpreted to them in Greek; which was afterwards done also in all other Grecian cities where the Jews became dispersed. And from hence those Jews were called Hellenists, or Grecizing Jews, because they used the Greek language in their synagogues; and by that name they were distinguished from the Hebrew Jews, who used only the Hebrew and Chaldee languages in their synagogues. And this distinction we find made between them, Acts vi. 1.: for the word, which we there translate Grecians, is, in the original, Ἑλληνιστῶν, *i. e.* not Grecians, but Hellenists, that is, Grecizing Jews, such as used the Grecian languages in their synagogues. And, because herein they differed from the Hebrew Jews, this created some differences between them, and made a sort of schism among them.

[q] Part 1. book 5.

phus, all that first speak of this version, *i. e.* [r] Aristeas, Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus, directly tells us. *2dly*, That it was done at Alexandria, the Alexandrian dialect, which appears through the whole version, is a manifest proof. *3dly*, That it was made at different times, and by different persons, the different styles in which the different books are found written, the different ways in which the same Hebrew words and the same Hebrew phrases are translated in different places, and the greater accuracy with which some of the books are translated above others, are a full demonstration.

IX. Ptolemy Philadelphus having been very intent upon the augmenting of his library, and replenishing it with all manner of books, it is not to be doubted, but that, as soon as this Greek version was made at Alexandria, a copy of it was put into that library, and there continued, till that noble repository of learning was accidently burned by Julius Cæsar in his war against the Alexandrians. However, it seems to have lain there in a very obscure manner, none of the Grecian authors now extant, nor any of the ancient Latins, having ever taken the least notice of it; for all of them, in what they write of the Jews, [s] give accounts of them so vastly wide of what is contained in the holy scriptures, as sufficiently shew, that they never perused them, or knew any thing of them. There are, indeed, out of Eupolemus, Abydenus, and other ancient writers now lost, some fragments still preserved in Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, which speak of the Jews more agreeable to the scriptural history, but still with such variations and intermixtures of falsity, that none of those remains, excepting only what we find taken out of Demetrius, in the 9th book of *Eusebius de Præparatione Evangelica* do give us any ground to believe, that the writers of them ever consulted those books, or knew any thing of them. This Demetrius [t] was an historian that wrote in Greek, and an inhabitant of Alexandria, where he compiled an history of the Jews, and continued it

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[r] Aristeas, Aristobulus, and Philo, say the law only was translated by the LXX.; and Josephus more expressly tells us, in the preface to his Antiquities, that they did not translate for Ptolemy the whole scriptures, but the law only.

[s] Diodor. Sic. in Eclogis, lib. 34. & 40. Justin. ex Trogo. lib. 36. c. 2. Strobo, lib. 16. Tacitus Hist. lib. 5. c. 2. aliique.

[t] Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. lib. 1. Hieronymus in Catalogo Illustrium Scriptorum, c. 38. Vosius de Historicis Græcis, lib. 3. sub litera D.

down to the reign of the 4th Ptolemy, who was Ptolemy Philopater, the grandson of Philadelphus. How much longer after this it was that he lived is not any where said. He having written so agreeably to the scripture, this seems to prove him to have been a Jew. However, if he were otherwise, that is, not a Jew, but an Heathen Greek, that no Heathen writer, but he only, should make use of those scriptures, after they had been translated into Greek, sufficiently shews, how much that copy of them which was laid up in the king's library at Alexandria was there neglected, and also how carefully the Jews, who were the first composers of this version, kept and confined all other copies of it to their own use. They had the stated lessons read out of it in their synagogues, and they had copies of it at home for their private use, and thus they seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till our Saviour's time. But after that time the gospel having been propagated to all nations, this version of the Hebrew scriptures was propagated with it among all that used the Greek tongue, and it became no longer locked up among the Hellenistical Jews, but copies of it were dispersed into all mens' hands that desired it; and hence it came to pass, that, after our Saviour's time, many of the Heathen writers, as Celsus, Porphyry, and others, became well acquainted with the Old Testament scriptures, though we find scarce any, or rather none of them, were so before.

X. As Christianity grew, so also did the credit and use of the Greek version of the Old Testament scriptures. The evangelists and apostles, who were the holy penmen of the New Testament scriptures, all quoted out of it, and so did all the primitive fathers after them. [u]All the Greek churches used it, and the Latins had no other copy of those scriptures in their language, till Jerom's time, but what was translated from it. Whatsoever comments were written on any part of them, this was always the text, and the explications were made according to it. And when other nations were converted to Christianity, and had those scriptures translated for their use into their several languages, these versions were all made from the Septuagint, as the Illyrian, the Gothic, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Syriac. There was indeed an [x] old Syriac version translated immediately from the Hebrew original, which is still in being, and at this time made

[u] Vide Waltoni Prolegom. c. 9. § 1. Hoddium, lib. 3. part 1.
[x] Vide Waltoni Prolegom. c. 13. Du Pin, Simonium, aliosque

use of by all the Syrian churches in the East. But besides this there was another Syriac version of the same scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint. The former was made, if not in the apostles' time, yet very soon after, for the use of the Syrian churches, and it is still used in them; but this latter was not made till about 600 years after the other, and is at this time extant in some of those churches where they are both used promiscuously together, that is, as well the one as the other. Of the antiquity of the old Syriac version, the Maronites, and other Syrian Christians, do much brag; for they will have it, that it was made, one part of it by the command of Solomon, for the use of Hirom, king of Tyre, and the other part, (that is, that part whereof the original was written after the time of Solomon,) by the command of Abagarus, king of Edessa, who lived in our Saviour's time. The chief argument which they bring for this is that St. Paul, in the 4th chapter of his epistle to the Ephesians, ver. 8. quoting a passage out of the 68th psalm, ver. 18. makes his quotation of it, not according to the Septuagint, nor according to the Hebrew original, but according to the Syriac version; for in that only is it found so as he quotes it; and therefore, say they, this quotation was taken out of it, and consequently this version must have been made before his time. The words of that passage, as quoted by St. Paul, are, *He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* But the latter part of it is neither according to the Septuagint version of that psalm, nor according to the Hebrew original, but according to the Syriac version only. For, according to the two former, the quotation must have been, *And received gifts for men;* and according to the latter only is it in that text of the psalmist so as St. Paul quotes it. But this rather proves, that the Syriac version in that passage of the psalmist was formed according to St. Paul's quotation, than that St. Paul's quotation was taken from that version. It is certain this version [y] was very ancient. It was in all likelihood made within the first century after Christ, and had for its author some Christian of the Jewish nation that was thoroughly skilled in both languages, that is, in the Hebrew, as well as in the Syriac; for it is very accurately done, and expresseth the sense of the original with greater exactness than any other version which hath been made of those scriptures (I am speaking of the Old Testament) at any time before the revival of learning in these last ages; and therefore, as it is (excepting only

[y] See Dr. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary on Micah.

the Septuagint, and the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the prophets) the oldest translation that we have of any part of those scriptures, so is it the best without any exception at all, that has been made of them by the ancients into any language whatsoever. And this last character belongs to it, in respect of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. And therefore, of all the ancient versions which are now consulted by Christians, for the better understanding of the holy scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, none can better serve this end, than this old Syriac version, when carefully consulted, and well understood. And to this purpose the very nature of the language much helpeth; for it having been the mother tongue of those who wrote the New Testament, and a dialect of that in which the Old was first given unto us, many things of both are more happily expressed in it through this whole version, than can well be done in any other language. But to return to the Septuagint.

XI. As this version grew into use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews: for they being pinched in many particulars urged against them by the Christians out of this version, for the evading hereof they entered into the same design against the Septuagint version, that, in the last age, the English Papists of [z] Doway and Rheins did against our English version, that is, they were for making a new one that might better serve their purpose. The person who undertook this work was Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus. [a] He had been bred up in the heathen religion, and had much addicted himself, while of it, to magic and judicial astrology; but being very much affected with the miracles which he saw the professors of the Christian religion did work in his time, he became a convert to it upon the same foot as Simon Magus had formerly been, that is, out of an expectation of obtaining power thereby of doing the same works. But not being able to attain thereto, as not having sufficient faith and sincerity for so great a gift, he

[z] The Rhemish Testament was published A. D. 1600; the Doway version of the Old Testament, 4to. 1609; both in opposition to the English Bible used in Queen Elizabeth's time.

[a] Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ, Athanasio ascripta. Euthymius in Præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmos. Vide etiam de eo Iserii Syntagama de Versione LXX. Interpretum, c. 5. & 6. Waltoni Prolegomena, c. 9.; et Hoddium, lib. 4. c. 1.

went on with his magic and judicial astrology, endeavouring thereby to bewitch the people, and make himself thought some great one among them; which evil practices of his coming to the knowledge of the governors of the church, they admonished him against them, and, on his refusal to obey their admonitions, excommunicated him; at which being very much exasperated, he apostatized to the Jews, was circumcised, and became a proselyte to their religion: and, for his better instruction herein, got [b] himself admitted into the school of Rabbi Akiba, the most celebrated doctor of the Jewish law in his time, and, under him he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Jewish language, and those holy scriptures that were written in it, that he was thought sufficient for this work, and accordingly undertook it, and [c] made two editions thereof; the first he published in the [d] twelfth year of the reign of Adrian, the Roman emperor, which was the year of our Lord 128. But afterwards having revised it, and made it more correct, he published the second edition of it. And [e] this the Hellenistical Jews received, and afterwards used it every where instead of the Septuagint; and therefore this Greek translation is often made mention of in the Talmud, but [f] the Septuagint never. And in this use of it they continued till the finishing and publishing of both the Talmuds. After that time the notion grew among them, that the scriptures ought not to be read in any of their synagogues, but in the old form, that is, in the Hebrew first, and then, by way of interpretation, in the Chaldee, according to the manner as I have already described it; and the decrees of the doctors were urged for this way. But the Hellenistical Jews, after so long use of a Greek version, not easily coming into this, it caused great divisions and disturbances among them; for the quieting of which, Justinian the emperor [g] published a decree, which is still extant among his novel constitutions, whereby he ordained, that the Jews might read the scriptures in their synagogues, either in the Greek version of the LXXII, or in that of Aquila, or in any other language, according to the country in which they should dwell. But the Jewish doctors having

[b] Hieronymus in Comment. ad Esaiæ cap. iv.
[c] Hieronymus in Comment. ad Ezek. cap. iv.
[d] Epiphanius in libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.
[e] Philastrius Hæres. 90. Origen. in Epistola ad Africanum.
[f] Lightfoot in Primam Epistolam ad Corinthios, c. 9.
[g] Novel, 146. Photii Nomocanon XII. 3.

determined otherwise, their decrees obtained against the emperor's; and, within a little while after, both the Septuagint and the version of Aquila became rejected by them: and, ever since, the solemn reading of the scriptures among them in their public assemblies hath been [h] in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages.

Not long after the time of Aquila, there were two other Greek versions made of the same scriptures; [i] the first made by Theodotion, who lived in the time of Commodus, the Roman emperor, and [i] the other by Symmachus, who flourished a little after him, in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla. The former, according [k] to some, was of Sinope in Pontus; but, according [l] to others, of Ephesus. They who would reconcile this matter say, he was of the former by birth, and of the other by habitation. The latter was [m] a Samaritan, and bred up in that sect, but afterwards he became [n] a Christian of the sect of the Ebionites; and Theodotion having been of the same profession before him, hence it came to pass, that they were by some, both of them, said to have been proselytes to Judaism; for the heresy of the Ebionites approached nearer the religion of the Jews than that of the orthodox Christians. They [o] professed indeed to believe in Christ as the true Messiah, but held him to be no more than a mere man, and thought themselves still under the obligation of the law of Moses, and therefore were circumcised, and observed all the other rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion; and, for this reason, they had commonly the name of Jews given them by the orthodox Christians: and hence it is, that we find both these persons as having been of that heretical sect, sometimes branded with the name of Jews by the ancient writers of the church. They both of them undertook the making of their versions with the same design as Aquila did, although not wholly for the same end: for they all three entered on

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[h] The Chaldee is used in some of their synagogues even to this day, as particularly at Frankfort in Germany.

[i] Epiphanius in Libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.

[k] Epiphanius, ibid.

[l] Irenæus Hæres. b. 3. c. 24. Synopsis sacræ Scripturæ, Athanasio ascripta.

[m] Epiphanius, ibid.

[n] Eusebius in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 17. et Demonstrat. Evang. lib. 7. c. 1.

[o] Eusebius, ibid.

this work for the perverting of the Old Testament scriptures; but Aquila did it for the serving of the interest of the Jewish religion, the other two for the serving of the interest of that heretical sect which they were of; and all of them wrested those holy writings, in their versions of them, as much as they could, to make them speak for the different ends which they proposed. There is some dispute, which of the two later versions was first made. Symmachus' version is first in the order of columns in the Hexapala of Origen; and this hath made some think, that it was first also in the order of time. But if this were an argument of any force, it would prove his version, and Aquila's also to have been made before the Septuagint; for they are both, in the order of those columns, placed before it. [p] Irenæus quotes Aquila, and also Theodotion, but says nothing of that of Symmachus; which sufficiently proves, that both their versions were extant in his time, but not that of the other.

These three interpreters took three different ways in the making of their versions. Aquila [q] stuck closely and servilely to the letter, rendering word for word, as nearly as he could, whether the idioms and properties of the language he made his version into, or the true sense of the text would bear it or no. Hence his version is said to be rather a good dictionary to give the meaning of the Hebrew words, than a good interpretation to unfold unto us the sense of the text; and therefore Jerom commends him much in the former respect, and as often condemns him in the latter. Symmachus [r] took a contrary course, and, running into the other extreme, endeavoured only to express what he thought was the true sense of the text, without having much regard to the words; whereby he made his version rather a paraphrase than an exact translation. Theodotion [s] went the middle way between both, without keeping himself too servilely to the words, or going too far from them; but endeavoured to express the sense of

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[p] Lib. 3. c. 24.

[q] Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Origen. in Epist. ad Africanum. Hieronymus in Præfat. ad Chronica. Eusebiana; et in Præfat. ad Librum Job; et in Tractat. de optimo Genere interpretandi.

[r] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Chronica Eusebiana, et in Comment. ad Amos, c. 3.

[s] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Chronica Eusebiana, et in Præfatione ad Librum Job, et alibi sæpius.

the text in such Greek words as would best suit the Hebrew, as far as the different idioms of the two languages would bear. And his taking this middle way between both these extremes, is, I reckon, the chief reason why some have thought he lived after both the other two, because he corrected that in which the other two have erred. But this his method might happen to lead him to, without his having any such view in it. Theodotion's version had the preference with all except the Jews, who adhered to that of Aquila as long as they used any Greek version at all. And therefore, when the ancient Christians found the Septuagint version of Daniel too faulty to be used in their churches, [t] they took Theodotion's version of that book into their Greek bibles instead of it; and there it hath continued ever since. And for the same reason, [u] Origen, in his Hexapla, where he supplies out of the Hebrew original what was defective in the Septuagint, doth it mostly according to the version of Theodotion.

All these [x] four different Greek versions Origen collected together in one volume, placing them in four distinct columns, one over against the other, all in the same page; and from hence this edition was called the Tetrapla, *i. e.* the fourfold edition. In the first column of this edition was placed the version of Aquila, in the second that of Symmachus, in the third the version of the Septuagint, and in the last that of Theodotion. Sometime after he published another edition, wherein he added two other columns in the beginning, and two others also in the end of the same page; and this was called the Hexapla, *i. e.* the sixfold edition, and sometimes the Octapla, that is, the eightfold. In [y] the first column of this edition was placed the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, and in the second the same Hebrew text in Greek letters, in the third the Greek version of Aquila, in the fourth that of Symmachus,

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[t] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Versionem Danielis, et in Præfatione ad Comment. in Danielem, et alibi.

[u] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Pentat. et in Præfatione ad Libros Paralipom. et in Epistola ad Augustinum, et alibi in operibus suis.

[x] Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Libros Paralipom. Eusebii. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 16.

[y] Eusebius & Epiphanius, ibid. Hieronymus in Comment. in Epistolam Pauli ad Titum, & in Epistola ad Vincentium & Gallienum & alibi. Videas etiam de hac re Waltonum, Hoddium, & Simonium.

in the fifth that of the Septuagint, in the sixth that of Theodotion, in the seventh that which was called the fifth Greek version, and in the eighth the sixth Greek version; and after all these columns, in some parts of this edition, was added a ninth, in which was placed that which they call the seventh version. The fifth and sixth were not of the whole Old Testament, but only of some parts of it. The law, and several other of the books of these scriptures, were wanting in both these versions: and therefore this edition began only with six columns, and the other columns were added there only where these other versions began. And hence it is, that this edition is called sometimes the Hexapla, in respect of that part of it where there were only six columns, and sometimes the Octapla, in respect of that part of it where there were eight columns: for the Hexapla and the Octapla were one and the same work, which in some parts of it had only six columns, and in others eight, and in some nine. In respect of the two former it was called Hexapla and Octapla, but never Enneapla (*i. e.* the ninefold) in respect of the last: for that last containing only a small part, and, as some say, no more than the psalms, no regard was had to it, in the name given to the whole work. [z] In this edition Origen altered the order of several parts of the Septuagint, where it differed from the Hebrew original: for whereas [a] several passages in that version, especially in Jeremiah, were inverted, transposed, and put into a different order from what they are in the Hebrew, it was necessary for him to reduce them again to the same order with it for the making of this edition answer the end he proposed: for his end herein being, that the differences between all the versions and the original might be the more easily seen, in order to the making of that version the more correct and perfect which was in use through the whole Greek church, he found it necessary to make the whole answer line for line in every column, that all might appear the more readily to the view of the reader; which could not be done without reducing all to the same uniform order: and that of the orginal, in which all was first written, was the properest to be followed.

The [b] fifth and sixth edition above mentioned were found,

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[z] Vide de hac re Usserii Syntagma de Græca LXX. Interpretum Versione c. 9. Morini Exercitationes Biblicas, part 1. & Hoddium de Textibus Bibliorum Originalibus, lib. 1. c. 2. § 15.

[a] Origen. in Epistola ad Africanum. Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Jeremiam.

[b] Euseb. Hist. Eccles, lib. 6. c. 16. Ephiphanius de Ponderi

1st Col.	2d Col.	3d Col.	4th Col.	5th Col.	6th Col.	7th Col.	8th Col.	9th Col.
The Hebrew Text in Hebrew letters.	The Hebrew Text in Greek Letters.	The Greek Version of Aquila.	The Greek Version of Symmachus.	The Greek Version of the LXX.	The Greek Version of Theodotion.	The fifth Greek Version.	The sixth Greek Version.	The seventh Greek version.

the one of them at Nicopolis, a city near Actium in Epirus, in the reign of Caracalla, and the other at Jericho in Judea, in the reign of Alexander Severus. Where the seventh was found, or who was the author of this or of the other two, is no where said. The first of these three contained the minor prophets, the Psalms, the Canticles, and the book of Job; the second the [c] minor prophets and the Canticles; and the third, according to some, only the Psalms. But very uncertain, and, in some particulars very contradictory accounts being given of these three last versions, and the matter being of no moment, since they are now all lost, it will be of no use to make any further inquiry concerning them. How the whole was disposed in this edition of Origen's will be best understood by this scheme.

All the last three versions, as well as the other three, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, Origen published in this edition as he found them. But the Septuagint, which was in the fifth column, being that for the sake of which he published all the rest, he bestowed much more pains upon it, to make it as correct and perfect as he could: for [d] the copies of it, which in his time went about for common use among the Hellenistical Jews and Christians, and were then read by both in their public assemblies, as well as in private at home, were then very much corrupted, through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands, by often transcription, it had now long gone through: and therefore, to remedy this evil, he applied himself, with great care, by examining and collating of many copies, to correct all the errors that had this way crept into this version, and restore it again to its primitive perfection. And that copy which he had thus restored he placed in his Hexapla, in the fifth column; which being generally reputed to be the true and perfect copy

bus & Mensuris. Hieronymus. Author Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ, aliique.

[c] Hieronymus citat eam versionem in his libris, nemo in aliis.

[d] Origen. in Mathæum editionis Huetianæ, tom. 1. p. 381.

of the Septuagint, the other copy that went about in common use was, in contradistinction to it, called the [e] common or vulgar edition. And his labour rested not here: for he not only endeavoured, by comparing many different copies and editions of it, to clear it from the errors of transcribers, but also, by comparing it with the Hebrew original, to clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also; for many such he found, in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations made in it by the first authors of this version. The law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but the other parts a great many more. All which he endeavoured to correct in such manner, as to leave the original text of the Septuagint still entire, as it came out of the hands of the first translators without any alterations, additions, or defalcations in it; in order whereto [f] he made use of four marks, called obelisks, asterisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, which were then in use among the grammarians of those times, and put them into that edition of his corrected version of the Septuagint which he placed in his Hexapala. The obelisk was a straight stroke of a pen, resembling the form of a small spit, or the blade of a rapier, as thus (—); and thence it had the name of ὀβελίσκος, in Greek, which signifieth, in that language, a small spit, and also the blade of a sword: the asterisk was a small star as thus (*,) and was so called, because in Greek that word thus signifieth: the lemnisk was a straight line drawn between two points, as thus (÷): and the hypolemnisk, a straight line with one point under it, as thus (—). By the obelisk he pointed out what was in the text of the Septuagint to be expunged, as that which was redundant over and above what was in the text of the Hebrew original. By the asterisk he shewed what was to be added to it, to supply those places where he found it difficient of what was in the original. And these supplements he made to it mostly according [g] to the version of Theodotion, and only where that could not serve to

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[e] Hieronymus in Epistola ad Suinan et Fretelam.

[f] Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Hieronymus in Prologo ad Genesin, et in Præfatione ad librum Psalmorum, et in Præfatione ad libros Paralipom et in Præfatione ad libros Solomonis, et in libro secundo adversus Ruffinum.

[g] Hieronymus in Prologo ad Genesin, et in Præfatione ad librum Job, et in libro secunda adversus Ruffinum, et in Epistola 74. ad Augustinum.

this purpose did he make use of the other versions. The lemnisks and hypolemnisks he seemeth to have used to mark out unto us where the original interpreters were mistaken in the sense and meaning of the words. But how these marks served to this end the accounts which we have of them are not sufficient to gives us a clear notion. To shew how far the redundancies went that were marked with obelisks, and how far the additions that were marked with the asterisks, another mark was made use of by him in this edition, [h] which in some copies were two points, as thus (:), or else in others [i] the head of a dart inverted, as thus (†); and by these marks was pointed out where the said redundancies and additions ended, in the same manner as by the obelisks and asterisks was where they begun, as thus (*ὡ αυτοῦ, or thus——ὡ αυτοῦ †). But all thus he did without making any alteration in the original version of the Septuagint: for, [k] taking out all these marks, with those supplements which were added under the asterisks, there remained the true and perfect edition of the Septuagint, as published by the first translators; and this was that which was called Origen's edition, as being corrected and reformed by him in the manner as I have said. This was a work of infinite labour, which gained him the name of [l] Adamantius, and was also of as great benefit to the church. It is not certainly said when he finished it; but it seems to have been in the year of our Lord 250, which was four years before his death. The original copy, when completed, was laid up in the library of the church of Cesarea in Palestine, where [m] Jerom, many years after, consulted it, and wrote out a transcript from it. But the troubles and persecutions which the church fell under in those times seem to have been the cause that, after it was placed in the library, it lay there in obscurity about 50 years without being taken notice of; till at length, being found there by Pamphilus and Eusebius, they wrote out copies of it; and, from that time, the use and excellency of it being made known,

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[h] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad librum Psalmorum.

[i] Vide Græcam versionem libri Joshuæ a Masio editam.

[k] Hieronymus in Epistola 74. ad Augustinum.

[l] Hieronymus in Epistola ad Marcellam. For Adamantinus, as applied to him, signified the *indefatigable*, who was not to be overcome with labour: and it was not without indefatigable labour that he completed this and the other works which he published.

[m] Hieronymus in Psalmum Secundum, et in Comment. in Epistolam ad Titum, c. 3.

it became dispersed to other churches, and [n] was received every where with great applause and approbation by them. But the voluminousness of the work, and the trouble and charges it would have cost to have it entirely transcribed, became the cause that it was not long-lived: for it being very troublesome and expensive to have so bulky a book wrote out, which consisted of several volumes, and also very difficult to find scribes among Christians in those times sufficiently skilled to write out the Hebrew text, many contented themselves with copying out the fifth column only, that is, the Septuagint, with those marks of asterisks, obelisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, with which Origen placed it in that column, that part thus marked seeming to comprehend an abridgment of the whole, whereby it came to pass, that few transcripts of this great work were made, but many of the other. In the transcribing of which, the asterisks being often left out, through want of due care in the writers, this occasioned that, in many copies of the Septuagint which were afterwards made, several particulars were taken into the text of the Septuagint, as original parts of it, which had only, under this mark, been inserted there by way of supplement out of other translations. However, several copies of the whole work, both of the Tetrapla, and Hexapla, still remained in libraries, and were consulted there on all occasions, till, at length, about the middle of the 7th century, the inundation of the Saracens upon the eastern parts having destroyed all libraries wherever they came, it was after this no more heard of; for there hath never since been any more remaining of it, than some fragments that have been gathered together by Flaminius Nobilius, Drusius, and Bernard de Montfaucon. The latter, in a book lately published, almost as bulky as the Hexapla, and a very pompous edition of it, hath made us expect concerning this matter much more than is performed.

Pamphilius and Eusebius having, about the conclusion of the third century, found the Hexapla of Origen in the library of Cesarea (or, according as some relate, brought it from Tyre, and placed it there,) [o] corrected out of it the Septuagint version then in common use; and, having caused to be written out several copies of it thus corrected according to the fifth column in Origen's Hexapla, communicated them to the

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[n] Hieronymus in Prœmio ad Comment. Danielem, & in Epistola 74. ad Augustinum.

[o] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Paralipomena.

neighbouring churches; and from hence this edition became of general use in them, from Antioch to the borders of Egypt, and was called the Palestine edition, because it was there first published and used; and sometimes it is also called the edition of Origen, because it was made according to his corrections.

About the same time two other editions of the same Septuagint Bible were made, the first [p] by Lucian a presbyter of the church of Antioch; which being [q] found after his death at Nicomedia in Bythynia, where he suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, it became afterwards used through all the churches from Constantinople to Antioch. The other was made by Hescychius a bishop of Egypt; which being [r] received by the church of Alexandria, was, from that time, brought into use in that and all the other churches of Egypt. Both these two latter correctors understood the Hebrew text, and in many places corrected their editions from it.

All the authors of these three editions suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, which gave their editions that reputation, that the whole Greek church used either the one or the other of them. The churches of Antioch and Constantinople, and of all the intermediate countries lying between them, made use of the edition of Lucian: all from Antioch to Egypt, that of Pamphilus: and all the churches of Egypt, that of Hescychius. So that Jerom saith, [s] the whole world was divided between them then in a threefold variety; because, in his time, no Greek church through the whole world made use of any other edition of those scriptures, than one of these three; but every one of them received either the one or the other of them for the authentic copy which they went by. But, if we may judge by the manuscript copies which still remain, these three different editions bating the errors of scribes,

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[p] Hieronymus in præfatione ad Paralipom. & in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, & in Epistola ad Suniam & Fretelam. Suidas & Simone Metaphrasta in voce Λουκιανος, & in voce νοθευει.

[q] Auctor Synopsis Sacræ Scripturaæ.

[r] Hieronymus in Apologia versus Ruffinum, lib. 2. & in Præfatione ad Paralipomena.

[s] In Præfatione ad Paralipomena sic scribit. Alexandria & Ægyptus in LXX suis Hesychium. Laudat Auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciana Martyris exemplaria probat. Medæ inter has provinciæ Palestinos, codices, legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.

did not, by variations that were of any great moment, differ the one from the other.

As thus the ancients had three principal editions of the Septuagint, from whence all the rest were copied, so hath it happened also among the moderns: for, since the inventing of printing, there have been also three principal editions of this Septuagint version, from which all the rest have been printed that are now extant among us; the first, that of Cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum or Alcala in Spain; the second, that of Aldus, at Venice; and the third, that of Pope Sixtus V. at Rome.

That [t] of Cardinal Ximenes was printed A. D. 1515, in his Polyglot Bible of Complutum; which contained *1st*, The Hebrew text; *2dly*, The Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch; *3dly*, The Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the Greek original of the New; and *4thly*, The Latin version of both. It was prepared for the press by the study and care of the divines of the university of [u] Alcala, and others called thither to assist in this work. But the whole being carried on under the direction, and at the cost and charges of Cardinal Ximenes, it hath the name of his edition. The method proposed herein, as to the Septuagint, having been, out of all the copies they could meet with, to choose out that reading which was nearest the Hebrew original, they seem rather thereby to have given us a new Greek translation of their own composure, than that ancient Greek version, which, under the name of the Septuagint, was in so great use among the primitive fathers of the Christian church. From this edition hath been printed the Septuagint which we have in both the Polyglots of Antwerp and Paris; the former of which was published, A. D. 1572, and the other, A. D. 1645; and also the Septuagint of Commelin, printed at Heidelberg, with Vatabeus' Commentary, A. D. 1599.

2dly, Aldus' [x] edition was published at Venice, A. D.

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[t] Waltoni Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta, c. 9. § 28. Hoddius de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, lib. 4. c. 3. Userii Syntagma de Gracæ LXX Interpretum Versione, c. 8. Grabbii Prolegomena ad Octateuchum, c. 3.

[u] Alcala is the Spanish name of the same town which in Latin is called Complutum.

[x] Userii Syntagama de Gracæ LXX Interpretum Versione, c. 8. Waltoni Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta Angelicana, c. 9. § 29. Hoddius ibid. Grabius, ibid.

1518. It was, by the collation of many ancient manuscripts, prepared for the press by Andreas Asulanus, father-in-law of the printer. And from this copy have been printed all the German editions, excepting that of Heidelberg by Commelin, already mentioned.

3dly, But the Roman edition hath obtained the preference above the other two in the opinion of most learned men, though Isaac Vossius condemns it as the worst of all. The printing of this edition [y] was first set on foot by Cardinal Montalto; and he having been afterwards pope, by the name of Sextus Quintus, at the time when it was published A. D. 1587, it therefore came out under his name. He first recommended the work to Pope Gregory XIII. as being that which had been directed to be done [z] by a decree of the Council of Trent; and, by his advice, the work was committed to the care of Antony Caraffa, a learned man of a noble family in Italy, who was afterwards made a cardinal and library-keeper to the pope. He, by the assistance of several other learned men employed under him, in eight years' time, finished this edition. It was, for the most part, according to an old manuscript in the Vatican library, which was written all in capital letters, without the marks of accents or points, and also without any distinction either of chapters or verses, and is supposed to be as ancient as the time of Jerom; only where this was defective, (for some leaves of it are lost) they supplied the chasms out of other manuscripts; the principal of which were one that they had from Venice, out of the library of Cardinal Bassarion, and another that was brought them out of Magna Græcia, now called Calabria; which last so agreed with the Vatican manuscript, that they supposed them either to have been written the one from the other, or else both from the same copy. The next year after was published at Rome a Latin version of this edition, with the annotations of Flaminus Nobilius. Morinus reprinted both together at Paris, A. D. 1628; and according to that edition have been published all those Septuagints that have been printed in England, that is, that of London in 8vo. anno 1653, that in Walton's Polyglot published 1657, and that of Cambridge, anno 1665; which last hath the learned preface of Bishop Peirson before it, and

[y] Usserius, Waltonus, Hoddius, & Grabius, ibid. Antonius Caraffa in Præfatione ad editionem Romanam. Morinus in Præfatione ad editionem suam Parisianam Græcæ versionis τῶν LXX.

[z] Antonius Caraffa, ibid.

doth much more exactly give us the Roman edition, than that of 1653, though both [a] in some particulars differ from it.

But the ancientest and the best manuscript of the Septuagint version now extant, according to the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is the Alexandrian copy, which is in the king's library at St. James'. It is written all in capital letters, without the distinction of chapters, verses, or words. It [b] was sent for a present to King Charles I. by Cyrillus Lucaris, then patriarch of Constantinople. He had been before patriarch of Alexandria, and, being translated from thence to the patriarchate of Constantinople, he brought thither this manuscript with him, and from thence sent it thither by Sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior: and with it he sent this following account of the book, in a schedule annexed to it, written with his own hand.

Liber iste scripturæ sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ, nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post Concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum: sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis, et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt reducti conditionem; extinctum enim est Theclæ nomen et laceratum; sed memoria et traditio recens observat.

Cyrillus, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus.

Which being rendered into English is as followeth:

"This book of the holy scriptures of the Old and New "Testament, as we have it by tradition, was written by the "hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about 1300 years "since, a little after the Council of Nice. The name of "Thecla was formerly written at the end of the book: but "the Christian religion being by the Mahometans suppressed "in Egypt, the books of Christians were reduced to the like "condition; and therefore the name of Thecla is extinguish-"ed, and torn out of the book: but memory and tradition "doth still observe it to have been her's."

Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople.

Dr. Ernestus Grabe, a learned Prussian, who had lived many

[a] Vide Prolegomena Lambertii Bos ad editionem suam tom. LXXII. Franequeræ publicatam A. D. 1709.

[b] Grabius in Prolegomenis ad Octateuchum.

years in England, did lately, under the encouragement of her late Majesty Queen Anne, who gave him a pension for this purpose, undertake to publish an edition of the Septuagint according to this copy; and he hath accordingly given us two parts of it, and would have published the rest in two parts more, but that his death prevented him from proceeding any further. Would some other able hand, with the like accuracy and care, finish what he hath left undone, this might then be justly reckoned among us a fourth edition of the Septuagint; and it is not doubted, but that, when so completed, it will be approved as the perfectest and best of them all.

And thus far I have given an account of this ancient translation of the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, and all the editions it hath gone through, both ancient and modern, so far as it belongs to an historian to relate. If any are desirous to know all the critical disputes and observations which have been made about it, and what learned men have written of this nature concerning it, they may consult Archbishop Usher's *Syntagma de Græca LXX Interpretum Versione*; Morinus' *Exercitationes Bibliæ*, part 1. and his preface before his Paris edition of the Septuagint; *Wouwer de Græca et Latina Bibliorum Interpretatione*; Walton's *Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta*, c. 9. *Vossius de LXX Interpretibus*; Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament; Du Pin's History of the Canon of the Old Testament; Grabe's Prolegomena before those two parts of the Septuagint which were published by him; and especially Dr. Hoddy's learned book above cited, where he hath written the fullest and the best of all that have handled this argument. And here having concluded this long historical account of it, I shall with it conclude this book.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK II.

SOSTHENES (who, on his defeating the Gauls, had for some time reigned in Macedon) being dead, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes[a], each claimed to succeed there as in their father's kingdom, Demetrius first, and afterwards Seleucus, having been kings of that country. But Antigonus, who had now, from the time of his father's last expedition into Asia, reigned in Greece ten years, being nearest, first took possession; whereon Antiochus resolving to march against him, and the other to keep what he had gotten, each raised great armies, and made strong alliances for the war. On this occasion, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having confederated with Antigonus, Antiochus, in his march towards Macedonia, not thinking it fit to leave such an enemy behind him in Asia, instead of passing over the Hellespont to attack Antigonus, led his army against Nicomedes, and carried the war into Bithynia. But there

Anno 276. Ptolemy Philadelph. 9.

[a] Memnon, c. 19.

both armies having for some time lain against each other, and neither of them having courage enough to assault the other, it at length came [b] to a treaty, and terms of agreement between them; by virtue of which, [c] Antigonus having married Phila, the daughter of Stratonice by Seleucus, Antiochus quitted to him his claim to Macedonia, and Antigonus became quietly settled in that kingdom, where [d] his posterity reigned for several descents, till at length Perseus, the last of that race, being conquered by Paulus Æmilius, that kingdom became a province of the Roman empire.

Antiochus, being thus freed from this war, marched against the Gauls (who having gotten a settlement in Asia, by the favour of Nicomedes, in the manner as hath been above related, over-ran and harrassed all that country,) [e] and having, after a short conflict, overthrown them in battle, he thereby delivered those provinces from their oppressions, [e] from whence he had the name of Soter, or the Saviour, given unto him. Anno 275. Ptolemy Philadelph. 10.

The Romans having [f] forced Pyrrhus, after a six years' war, to leave Italy, and return again into Epirus, with baffle and disappointment, their name began to grow of great note and fame among foreign nations; whereon Ptolemy Philadelphus [g] sent ambassadors to them, to desire their friendship; with which the Romans were well pleased, thinking it no small reputation to them, that their friendship was sought for by so great a king. Anno 274. Ptolemy Philadelph. 11.

And therefore, to make a return of the like respects, the next year after, [h] they sent a solemn embassy into Egypt unto that king. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulinus, whose conduct in this employment was very remarkable: for, with a mind as great as self-denying, they put off every thing from themselves that might tend to their own proper interest: for when king Ptolemy, having invited them to supper with him, presented them, in the conclusion of the Anno 273. Ptolemy Philadelph. 12.

[b] Justin. lib. 25. c. 1.
[c] In Vita Arati Astronomi operibus ejus præfixa.
[d] Plutarchus in Demetrio.
[e] Appian. in Syriacis.
[f] Plutarchus in Pyrrho.
[g] Livius, lib. 14. Eutrop. lib. 2.
[h] Livius, lib. 14. Eutrop. lib. 2. Valereus Maximus, lib. 4. c. 3. Dio in Excerptis ab Ursino editis.

entertainment, with crowns of gold, they accepted of the crowns for the sake of the honour that was done them thereby, but the next morning after, crowned with them the statues of the king, which stood in the public places of the city; and being presented, on their taking their leave, with very valuable gifts from the king, they accepted of them, that they might not disgust him by the refusal; but as soon as they were returned to Rome, they delivered them all into the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public, than the honour of discharging it well. And this was the general temper and inclination of the Romans in those times, which made them prosper in all their undertakings. But afterwards, when the service of the public was only desired in order to plunder it, and men entered on the employments of the state with no other view or intent than to enrich themselves, and advance their own private fortunes, no wonder then that every thing began to go backward with them. And so it must happen with all other states and kingdoms, when the public interest is sacrificed to that of private men, and the offices and employments of the state are desired only to gratify the ambition and glut the avarice of them that can get into them. But the Romans, although they received into their treasury what their ambassadors thus generously delivered into it, yet were not wanting in what was proper for them to do for the encouraging so good an example, and the rewarding of them that gave it: for they ordered to be given to them, for their service done the state in this embassy, such sums out of their treasury, as equalled the value of what they thus delivered into it. So that the liberality of Ptolemy, the abstinence and self-denial of the ambassadors, and the justice of the Romans, were all signally made appear in the transactions of this matter.

After the death of Pyrrhus, [i] who was slain at Argus, in an attempt made upon that city, Antigonus Gonatus king of Macedon having much enlarged his power, and made himself thereby very formidable to the Grecian states, [k] the Lacedemonians and the Athenians entered into a confederacy against him,

Anno 268. Ptolemy Philadelph. 17.

[i] Plutarchus in Pyrrho.
[k] Justin. lib. 26. c. 2. Pausanias in Laconicis.

and gained Ptolemy Philadelphus to join with him herein. Whereon Antigonus besieged Athens: for the relief of which Ptolemy [l] sent a fleet under the command of Patroclus, one of his chief officers; and Areus king of the Lacedemonians led thither an army by land for the same purpose. Patroclus, on his arrival with his fleet sent to Areus to persuade him forthwith to engage the enemy, promising him at the same time, to land the forces which he had on board the fleet, and fall on them in the rear. But the provisions of the Lacedemonians being all spent, Areus thought it better to retreat, and march home; whereon Patroclus was forced to do the same, and sail back with his fleet again into Egypt, without accomplishing any thing of the design for which he was sent; and Athens being thus deserted by its allies, fell into the hands of Antigonus, and he placed a garrison in it.

Patroclus, in his return into Egypt, having found Sotades at Caunus, a maratime city of Caria, there [m] seized on him, and wrapping him in a sheet of lead, cast him into the sea. He was a lewd poet, who having written some satyrical verses against King Ptolemy, and in them bitterly reflected on him for his marriage with Arsinoe his sister, was fled from Alexandria, to avoid the indignation of that prince. But Patroclus, having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to the favour of his prince, than by taking this vengeance on the person who had thus abused him. And it was a punishment which he well deserved; for he was a very vile and flagitious wretch, and was commonly called *Sotades Cinædus*, i. e. *Sotades the Sodomite*; which name was given him by way of eminence, not only for his notorious guilt in that monstrous and abominable vice, but especially for that [n] he had written in Iambic verses, a very remarkable poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among those who were given to that unnatural and vile lust. Hence Sodomites were called from him, *Sotadici Cinædi*, i. e. *Sotadic Sodomites*, as in *Juvenal*, [o] *Inter Sotadicos notissima fossa*

Anno 267. Ptolemy Philadelph. 18.

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[l] Pausanias, ibid.

[m] Athenæus, lib. 14. p. 620.

[n] Strabo, lib. 14. p. 648. Athenæus, ibid. Suidas in voce Σωτάδης.

[o] Satyr, ii. 10.

Cinædos; for so it ought to be read, and not *Socraticos*, as in our printed books. For this latter was an alteration made in the text of that author by such as were wickedly addicted to this beastly vice, thinking they might acquire some credit, or at least some excuse to this worst of uncleanness, if they could make it believed that Socrates, who was one of the best of men, had been also addicted to it.

Megas, governor of Cyrene and Libya for King Ptolemy, [p] rebelled against him, and made himself king of those provinces. He was half-brother to him, being son of Berenice by Philip, a Macedonian, who had been her husband before she married King Ptolemy Soter; and therefore, by her intercession, she prevailed with that prince to make him his lieutenant, to govern those provinces, on his again recovering them after the death of Ophellas, anno 307; where, having strengthened himself by a long continuance in that government, and also by the marriage of Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Asia, he in confidence hereof, rebelled against his brother, and, not being contented to deprive him of the provinces of Libya and Cyrene, where he now reigned, sought to dispossess him also of Egypt; and therefore, having gotten together an army, marched towards Alexandria for this purpose, and seized Parætonium, a city of Marmarica, in his way thither. But as he was proceeding farther, a message being brought him, that the Marmarides, a people of Libya, had revolted from him, he was forced to march back again for the suppressing of this defection. Ptolemy being then with a great army on the borders of Egypt, to defend his country against this invader, had a good opportunity, by falling on him in his retreat, utterly to have broken him. But he was hindered by a like defection at home, as Magas had been; for having, for his defence in this war, hired several mercenaries, and among them 4000 Gauls, he found they had entered into a conspiracy against him to take possession of Egypt, and drive him thence; for the preventing of which he marched back into Egypt, and having led the conspirators into an island in the Nile, he there pent them up, till they all perished of famine, or, to avoid it, had slain each other with their own swords.

Anno 265. Ptolemy Philadelph. 20.

Magas, as soon as he had removed the difficulties at home

[p] Pausanias in Atticis.

which recalled him thither, was for renewing his designs again upon Egypt; and, for the carrying of them on with the better success, [q] engaged Antiochus Soter his father-in-law, to engage with him herein; and the project concerned between them was, That Antiochus should attack the territories of Ptolemy on one side, and Magas on the other. But while Antiochus was providing an army for this purpose, Ptolemy, having full notice of what was intended, sent forces into all the maritime provinces which were under the dominion of Antiochus; whereby having caused great ravages and devastations to be made in them, by this means he necessitated that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own territories, and Magas, without his assistance in the war, thought not fit to move any farther in it. Anno 264. Ptolemy Philadelph. 21.

The next year after died Phileterus, the first founder of the kingdom of Pergamos, [r] being 80 years old: [s] he was an eunuch, and served Docimus, who was one of the captains of Antigonus, and on his revolt from that prince to Lysimachus, passed with him into the same service; and Lysimachus finding him to have had a liberal education, and to be a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and thereon put the city of Pergamus into his hands, where in a strong castle his treasure was kept. And here he served Lysimachus many years with great fidelity; but being particularly attached to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, and therefore having expressed great grief at his death, which was brought about by the contrivance of Arsinoe, the daughter of King Ptolemy Soter, (whom Lysimachus had married in his old age, as hath been already related,) he grew suspected to that lady; and finding thereon that designs were laid for his life also, he revolted from Lysimachus, and, under the protection of Seleucus, set up for himself: and, having converted the treasure of Lysimachus to his own use, among the distractions that after followed, first on the death of Lysimachus, and then on that of Seleucus within seven months after, and the unsettled state of them that succeeded them, he managed his affairs with that craft and subtlety, that he secured himself in the possession of his castle, and all the country ad- Anno 263. Ptolemy. Philadelph. 22.

[q] Pausanias in Atticis. [r] Lucianus in Macrobiis.
[s] Pausanias in Atticis. Strabo, lib. 12. p. 443. & lib. 13. p. 623 624. Appian. in Syriacis.

jacent, for the term of twenty years, and there founded a kingdom, which lasted for several descents in his family after him, and was one of the most potent sovereignties in all Asia. He had indeed no children of his own as being an eunuch; but he had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus; the elder of which, Eumenes, had a son of the same name, who succeeded his uncle in his new-acquired kingdom, and reigned in it twenty-two years. This same year began the first Punic war between the Romans and Carthaginians, which lasted twenty-four years.

Towards the end of the same year [t] died Antigonus of Socho, who was president of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and the great master and teacher of the Jewish law in their prime divinity-school in that city, and had been in both these offices, say the Jews, from the death of *Simon the Just*, who was of the last of those who were called the men of the great synagogue. These taught the scriptures only to the people. They who after succeeded, added the traditions of the elders to the holy scriptures, and taught them both to their scholars, obliging them to the observance of the one as well as the other, as if both had equally proceeded from Mount Sinai. These were called the Tanaim, or the Mishnical Doctors, for the reason [u] already mentioned: and the first of them was this Antigonus of Socho, who, being now dead, was succeeded by Joseph the son of Joazer, and Joseph the son of John. The first of these was Nasi, or the president of the sanhedrim, and the other Ab-Beth-Din, or vice-president; and both jointly taught together in the chief divinity school at Jerusalem.

In the time of this Antigonus began the sect of the Sadducees, to the rise of which he gave the occasion; for [x] having, in his lectures, often inculcated to his scholars, that they ought not to serve God in a servile manner with respect to the reward, but out of the filial love and fear only which they owed unto him, Sadoc and Baithus, two of his scholars, hearing this from him, inferred from hence, that there were no rewards at all after this life; and therefore, separating from

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[t] Juchasin, Zemach David, Shalsheleth Haccabala.

[u] Part 1. book 5.

[x] Pirke Avoth Juchasin. Zemach David, Shalsheleth Haccabala. R. Abraham Levita in Cabbala Historica. See Lightfoot's Works in English, vol. 1. p. 457, 655, 656. and vol. 2. p. 125, 126, and 127.

the school of their master, they taught that there was no resurrection nor future state, but that all the rewards which God gave to those that served him were in this life only. And, many being perverted by them to this opinion, they began that sect among the Jews, which, from the name of Sadoc, the first founder of it, were called Sadducees; who differed from Epicures only in this, that although they denied a future state, yet they allowed the power of God to create the world, and his providence to govern it; whereas the Epicureans deny both the one and the other. A fuller account of them, and their tenets shall be hereafter given, in the place where I shall treat of all those sects of the Jews together which arose among them between this time and that of our Saviour.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, [y] having built a new city in the place where Astacus before stood (which had been destroyed by Lysimachus,) or very near it, [z] as others say, caused it from his own name, to be called Nicomedia; of which place frequent mention is made in the histories of the latter Roman emperors, several of them having made it the seat of their residence in the east. Anno 260. Ptolemy Philadelph. 23.

Antiochus Soter, on his hearing of the death of Philetærus, thought to possess himself of his territories whereon Eumenes marched with an army against him for his defence, and, [a] having encountered him near Sardis, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also augmented it by several new acquisitions.

Antiochus, after this defeat, returning to Antioch, there [b] put to death one of his sons, who had raised some disturbances in his absence, and made the other, who was named also Antiochus, king, and, a little after, dying, left him in the sole Anno 261. Ptolemy Philadelph. 24.

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[y] Pausanias in Eliacorum libro primo. Euseb. Chron. Trebellius Pollio in Galliennis. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22.

[z] Memnon, c. 21.

[a] Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. For the Antiochus who was beaten at Sardis could be none other than Antiochus the son of Seleucus, according to this author; for he here calls him τὸν Σελεύκου, *i. e.* the son of Seleucus, that Greek phrase in that place not bearing any other interpretation.

[b] Trogus in Prologo, lib. 26.

possession of all his dominions. He was born to him by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who had been first his mother-in law, and afterwards his wife, as hath been already related.

This Antiochus, on his first coming to the crown, had for his wife [c] Laodice his sister by the same father: he afterwards took the title of Theus, or the Divine; and by this he is usually distinguished from the other kings of that name who reigned in Syria. It was [d] first given him by the Milesians, on his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus: for [e] this Timarchus, being governor of Caria for Ptolemy Philadelphus (who at this time had, besides Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, [f] the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Lesser Asia,) rebelled against him, and setting up for himself, fixed the chief seat of his tyranny at Miletus. The Milesians, to be freed from him, called in Antiochus, who, having vanquished and slain Timarchus, was, for this reason, honoured by them as a god, and had the title of Theus there given unto him; which was an impious flattery the people of those times were frequently guilty of towards the princes then reigning: for the Lemnians [g] had a little before consecrated his father and grandfather to be gods, and built temples to them; and [h] the Smyrnians did the same for Stratonice his mother.

Anno 260. Ptolemy Philadelph. 25.

In the beginning of this king's reign lived Berosus, the famous Babylonish historian; for he dedicated his history to him. So saith Tatian: his words are: "Berosus the Baby-"lonia, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in "the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was "the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three "books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of "their kings." The third after Alexander was certainly Antiochus Theus: for Seleucus Nicator was the first, Antiochus Soter the second, and Antiochus Theus the third; and therefore, according to Tatian, it must be to him that this dedication was made. But it being also said by Tatian, that he lived in the time of Alexander, who died 64 years before the

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[c] Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 8. c. 50. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 27. c. 1.

[d] Appian. in Syriacis.

[e] Trogus in Prologo, lib. 26.

[f] Theocritus, Idyll. 17.

[g] Athenæus, Lib. 6. c. 16.

[h] Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 5, 6. & 14.

first year of Antiochus Theus, the age of the historian makes it necessary to place this dedication to Antiochus as early as possible, that is, in the first year of his reign. For, supposing Berosus to have been 20 at the death of Alexander, in whose time he is said to have lived, he must have been 84 in the first year of Antiochus Theus; and so great an age makes it probable he could not have lived long beyond it: and therefore below this year we cannot well place this dedication. And the account which [j] Pliny gives us of this history, brings down the ending of it to have been hereabout; for he saith, that it contained astronomical observations for 480 years. Learned men, with good reason, [k] begin the computation of these 480 years from the beginning of the æra of Nabonassar, and the 480th year of that æra ended about six years before Antiochus Theus began his reign. And that he should end his history at a term six years before he published it is not hard to conceive, though perchance it might be deduced down to the death of Antiochus Soter, and the odd number be left out in the computation, it being usual in the reckoning of such long sums to end them at a full number. After the Macedonians had made themselves masters of Babylon, he learned from them the Greek language; and, passing from Babylon into Greece, first settled [l] at Cos, a place famous for the birth of Hippocrates, the father of physicians, and did there set up a school for the teaching of astronomy and astrology; and afterwards from Cos he went to Athens, where he grew so famous for his astrological predictions, that they there [m] erected to him in their gymnasium, the public place of their exercises, a statue with a golden tongue. Many noble fragments of his history are preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, which give great light to many passages in the scriptures of the Old Testament, and without which the series of the Babylonian kings could not have been well made out. Of the counterfeit Berosus, published by Annius of Veterbo, [n] I have already spoken, and therefore need not here again repeat it.

Ptolemy, being intent to advance the riches of his kingdom,

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[j] Lib. 7. c. 56.

[k] Vide Usserii Annales Veteris Testamenti sub anno J. P. 4153. & Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 13.

[l] Vitruvius, lib. 9. c. 7.

[m] Plinius lib. 7. c. 37.

[n] Part 1. book 8. under the year 298.

Anno 259. Ptolemy Philadelph. 26.

contrived to bring all the trade of the East that was by sea into it. It had hitherto been managed by the Tyrians, and they carried it on by sea to Elath, and from thence by the way of Rhinocurora to Tyre. These were both sea-port towns, Elath on the east side of the Red sea, and Rhinocorura at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, near the mouth of that river which the scriptures call the river of Egypt. Of both which places, and the trade carried on through them by the Tyrians, I have [o] already spoken in the first part of this history. To this trade into Egypt, Ptolemy contrived to build a city on the western side of the Red sea, from whence he might set out his shipping for the carrying of it on. But observing that the Red sea towards the bottom of the gulf, was of very difficult and dangerous navigation, by reason of its rocks and shelves, [p] he built his city at as great distance from that part of this sea as he could, placing it almost as far down as the confines of Ethiopia, and called it Berenice, from the name of his mother. But that not having a good harbour, Myos Hormus, in the neighbourhood, was afterwards found to be a more convenient port; and therefore all the wares of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, being brought thither by sea, they were carried from thence, on camels' backs, to Coptus on the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria, from whence they were dispersed all over the West, and the wares of the West were carried back the same way into the East; by which means the Tyrians being deprived of this profitable traffic, it became thenceforth fixed at Alexandria; and this city, from that time, continued to be the prime mart of all the trade that was carried on between the East and the West for above 1700 years after, till, a little above two centuries since, another passage from the West into those countries was found out by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. But the road from Coptus to the Red sea being through deserts, where no water was to be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, Ptolemy, for the remedying of both these inconveniencies, [q] drew a ditch from Coptus, which carried the water of the Nile all along by that road, and built it on several inns, at such proper distances, as to afford every night lodgings and convenient refreshments, both for man and beast, to all that

[o] Part 1. book 1. under the year 740.

[p] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 815.

[q] Strabo, ibid.

should pass that way. And, as he thus projected to draw all the trade of the East and West into this kingdom, so he provided [r] a very great fleet for the protecting of it, part of which he kept in the Red sea, and part in the Mediterranean. That in the Mediterranean alone was very great, and some of the ships of it of a very unusual bigness: for [s] he had in it two ships of 30 oars on a side, one of 20 oars, four of 14, two of 12, fourteen of 11, thirty of 9, thirty-seven of 7, five of 6, seventeen of 5; and of 4 oars and 3 oars of a side, he had double the number of all these already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the smaller sort of vessels a vast number. And, by the strength of this fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the trade of his country, but also [t] kept most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, that is, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and also the Cyclades, in thorough subjection to him as long as he lived.

Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with king Ptolemy his brother, and, in order hereto, [u] purposed to marry his only daughter Berenice to king Ptolemy's eldest son, and with her to give the inheritance of his kingdom after him; which being accepted of by Ptolemy, peace was made between them on these terms. Anno 258. Ptolemy Philadelph. 28.

But Magas, in the year following, [x] died before the treaty was executed, after he had reigned [y] 50 years over Libya and Cyrene, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his government, on the death of Ophellas. In the latter end of his life, he gave himself much to ease and luxury, eating and drinking beyond all temperance and measure; whereon [z] he grew so corpulent, that at length he weighed himself down into the grave by the load of his own fat. After his death, [a] Apame his wife (whom Justin calls Arsinoe,) setting herself very violently to break the match contracted for her daughter Anno 257. Ptolemy Philadelph. 28.

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[r] Theocritus in Idyllio 17. Appianus in Præfatione.

[s] Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 203.

[t] Theocritus in Idyllio 17.

[u] Justin. lib. 26. c. 3. ubi, pro Magas, ex errore scribarum, legitur Agas.

[x] Justin. lib. 26. c. 3.

[y] Athenæus ex Agatharcide, lib. 12. p. 550.

[z] Athenæus, ibid. [a] Justin. ibid.

with the son of King Ptolemy, as being agreed without her consent, sent into Macedon for Demetrius, the half-brother of King Antigonus Gonatus (for he was the son [b] of Demetrius Poliorcetes by his last wife Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter,) promising him her daughter in marriage, and the kingdoms of Libya and Cyrene with her. This invitation, soon brought Demetrius thither. But Apame, on his arrival, finding him a very beautiful young man, fell in love with him herself: which Demetrius complying with, neglected the young princess, and gave himself wholly up to this scandalous amour with the mother; and being hereon thoroughly possessed of her favour, in confidence of it, began to carry himself with great pride and insolence, not only towards the princess, but also towards the ministers and soldiers that served her father; whereon they all conspired against him. And Berenice herself, having led the conspirators to the door of her mother's bed-chamber, when he was there accompanying with her, they fell upon him, and slew him in her bed, notwithstanding she did all she could, by interposing her body between him and the swords of the conspirators, to save him from this assassination. After this Berenice went into Egypt, and there consummated the marriage with the son of King Ptolemy which her father had contracted for her, and Apame was sent into Syria to King Antiochus Theus her brother.

But, on her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against King Ptolemy, as to engage him to enter into a war with him, which [c] lasted long, and was carried on with great violence, to the very great damage of King Antiochus, and at last administered the occasion of a cruel tragedy in his family, in which he himself perished, as will be hereafter related.

Anno 256. Ptolemy Philadelph. 29.

For the carrying on of this war, Ptolemy employed his lieutenants, without appearing in it himself, by reason of the tender state of his health, [d] which would not permit him to bear the hardships of a camp, or the fatigues of a campaign. But Antiochus, being in the vigour of his youth, headed his armies

Anno 255. Ptolemy Philadelph. 30.

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[b] Plutarchus in Demetrio. Here it is to be observed, that Apame was the grand-daughter of the same Demetrius, by Stratonice his daughter, for she was the daughter of Antiochus Soter by that lady.

[c] Hieronymus in Danielem xi. 5.

[d] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 789.

himself, and [c] drew after him all the strength of Babylon and the East, for the more vigorous prosecuting of the war. But what were the successes of it on either side we have no account, through want of their being recorded in history; only we may presume, there were no great advantages gotten, nor any signal events brought to pass, on either side, because, if there had, they could not have escaped being told us, in an age when there lived so many able historians and learned men to commit them to writing.

But, amidst this war, Ptolemy did not omit his search for books for his library, and also for pictures and drawings which were the works of eminent artists. And for this Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, [f] being one of his agents in Greece, he so far gained his favour by his service to him herein, that, on his applying to him for his help towards the restoring of his city to liberty and peace, he gave him for this purpose 150 talents. The case was thus: [f] Aratus having expelled Nicocles, the tyrant of Sicyon, and brought back the exiles again to their city, great disturbances did there arise hereon about the restoration of their lands, which had like to have put all into confusion among them, by reason most of those lands had been transferred to other proprietors, and, by purchase and sale for valuable considerations, gone through several hands before the exiles were restored, who thought it hard to be deprived of what they had paid for; and their being no other way to satisfy them, but by refunding their money again, for this reason Aratus applied to King Ptolemy, and, with the money he gave him, satisfied every body, and restored peace to Sicyon. Anno 254. Ptolemy Philadelph. 31.

While Antiochus was carrying on the war in which he was engaged against King Ptolemy, there happened a great defection from him in the eastern provinces of his empire; and, by reason of his embarrasments in this war, he not being at leisure immediately to suppress it, the revolt at length grew to an head too hard for him to master; and this gave beginning to the Parthian empire. The occasion of it was thus: [g] Agathocles, who was governor of Parthia for King Antiochus, being sodomitically given, fell in love with a beautiful young Anno 250. Ptolemy Philadelph. 35.

[c] Hieronymus in Danielm ix. 5. [f] Plutarchus in Arato.
[g] Arrianus in Parthicis apud Photium, cod. 58. Syncellus, p. 284. Justin. lib. 41. c. 4. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 515.

man called Teridates, and attempted a force upon him for the gratifying of his unnatural lust. Whereupon Arsaces, the brother of the youth, to rescue him from this violence, with some other of his friends joining with him, fell upon the governor, and slew him; and, after that, drawing a company together after him for the vindication of the fact, he, in a little time, while neglected by Antiochus, grew strong enough to expel the Macedonians out of the province, and there set up for himself. And about the same time Theodotus [h] revolted in Bactria, and, from being governor of that province, declared himself king of it. And that country having 1000 cities in it, he got them all under his obedience; and, while Antiochus delayed to look that way, by reason of his wars with Egypt, made himself too strong in them to be afterwards reduced; which example being followed by other nations in those parts, they all there generally revolted at the same time; and Antiochus lost almost all those eastern provinces of his empire that lay beyond the Tigris. This happened, [i] Justin tells us, while L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Attilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome.

This same year, on the death of Manasseh, high priest of the Jews, [k] Onias, the second of that name, succeeded him in his office. He was the son of Simon the Just; but, having been left an infant at his father's death, Eleazar, the brother of Simon, was then made high priest in his stead; and he also dying before Onias was of an age capable for the executing of the office, Manasseh, the son of Jaddua, and uncle of Simon the Just, was called to it; and now, he being dead, Onias came into the office. But, being a man of an heavy temper, and a very sordid spirit, he behaved himself very meanly in that station, to the endangering of the whole Jewish state, by the illness of his conduct; as will hereafter be related in its proper place.

The commotions and revolts which happened in the East making Antiochus weary of his war with King Ptolemy, [l] peace was made between them on the terms, That Antiochus, divorcing Laodice, his former wife, should marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, and make her his queen, instead of the other,

Anno 249. Ptolemy Philadelph. 36.

[h] Strabo & Justin. ibid.
[i] Lib. 41. c. 4.
[k] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.
[l] Hieronymus in Danielem xi. Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 8. c. 50. Athenæus, lib. 2. c. 6.

and entail his crown upon the male issue of that marriage. And this agreement being ratified on both sides, for the full performance of it, Antiochus put away Laodice, though she were [m] his sister by the same father, and he had two sons born to him by her; and Ptolemy, carrying his daughter to Pelusium, there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to Seleucia, a sea-port town near the mouth of the river Orontes in Syria; where having met Antiochus, he delivered his daughter to him, and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity. And thus "the king's daughter of the "South came, and was married to the king of the North;" and, by virtue of that marriage, "an agreement was made "between those two kings," according to the prophecy of the prophet Daniel xi. 5, 6. For, in that place, by the king of the South, is meant the king of Egypt, and, by the king of the North, the king of Syria; and both are there so called in respect of Judea, which lying between these two countries, hath Egypt on the south, and Syria on the north. For the fuller understanding of this prophecy, it is to be observed, that the holy prophet, after having spoken of Alexander the Great, (v. 3.) and of the four kings among whom his empire was divided, (v. 4.) confines the rest of his prophecy in that chapter to two of them only, that is, to the king of Egypt, and the king of Syria; and first he begins with that king of Egypt who first reigned in that country after Alexander, that is Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls king of the South, and saith of him that he should be strong. And that he was so all that write of him do sufficiently testify; for he had under him Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Arabia, Palestine, Cœle-Syria, most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, the island of Cyprus, several of the isles of the Egean sea, now called the Archipelago, and some cities also in Greece, as Sicyon, Corinth, and others. And then the prophet proceedeth to speak of another of the four successors (or princes, as he calls them) of Alexander, and he was Seleucus Nicator king of the North, of whom he saith, that he *should be strong above the king of the South, and have great dominion also above him*; that is, greater than the king of the South. And that he had so, appears from all the large territories he was possessed of; for he had under him all the countries of the East from Mount Taurus to

[m] Polyænus, lib. 8. c. 50. dicit eam fuisse Antiochi ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφὴν, i. e. sororem ex patre, quia scilicet Antiochus Soter erat utriusque pater.

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the river Indus, and several of the provinces of Lesser Asia, also from Mount Taurus to the Egean sea; and he had moreover added to them, before his death, Thrace and Macedon. And then, in the next place, (v. 6.) he tells us of *the coming of the king's daughter of the South, after the end of several years, to the king of the North, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between those two kings*; which plainly points out unto us this marriage of Berenice, daughter to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theus king of Syria, and the peace which was thereon made between them: for all this was exactly transacted according to what was predicted by the holy prophet in this prophecy. After this the holy prophet proceeds, through the rest of the chapter, to foreshew all the other most remarkable events that were brought to pass in the transactions of the succeeding times of these two races of kings, till the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation: all which I shall take notice of in the following series of this history, and apply them to the prophecy for the explication of it, as they come in my way.

Anno 248. Ptolemy Philadelph. 37.

Ptolemy being a curious collector of statues, drawings, and pictures, that were the works of eminent artists, as well as of books, while he was in Syria the last year, saw there a statue of Diana, in one of her temples, which he was much taken with; and therefore desiring it of Antiochus, [n] carried it with him into Egypt. But he had not been long returned thither, ere Arsinoe, falling sick, dreamed, that Diana appeared to her, and told her, that the cause of her sickness was, that Ptolemy had taken away her statue from the temple where it had been consecrated to her. Whereon the statue was sent back again into Syria, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken, and many gifts and oblations were added to appease the wrath of the goddess. But this did not at all help the sick queen; for she soon after died of the sickness she had languished under, and left Ptolemy in great grief for her loss: for though she were much older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he doted on her to the last, and, after her death, did all that he could for her honour, calling several cities, which he had built, by her name, and erecting obelisks to her memory, and doing many other unusual things, to express the great affection and re-

[n] Libanius Orat. xi.

gard which he had for her: the most remarkable of which was, his attempting to erect a temple to her at Alexandria, in which it [o] was projected to build a dome, whose vault being all arched with loadstone, should cause an image of hers, made of steel, there to hang in the air in the middle of the dome, by virtue of the attractive quality of the loadstones. This design was the contrivance of Dinocrates, a famous architect of those times; and when it was laid before king Ptolemy, he was so pleased with it, that the work was forthwith begun, under the direction of him that projected it. But whether it would take or no, never came to the trial; for both Ptolemy and the architect soon after dying, this put an end to the design; so that no experiment was made of what the loadstones could do in this case. It hath long gone current among many, that the body of Mahomet, after his death, being laid in an iron coffin, was thus hung in the air by virtue of loadstones in the roof of the room where it was reposited; but how fabulous this story is, I have already shewn in the life of that impostor.

Ptolemy, after the death of Arsinoe, did not long survive her: for being originally of a tender constitution, and having further weakened it [p] by a luxurious indulgence, he could not bear the approach of age, nor the grief of mind which he fell under on the loss of his beloved wife; but sinking away under these burdens, died in his great climacteric, the 63d year of his life, after having reigned over Egypt [q] 38 years. He left behind him two sons and a daughter, which he had by Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus, his first wife. The eldest of the two sons of Ptolemy Euergetes who reigned after him; the other was called Lysimachus, which was the name of his maternal grandfather. He was put to death by his brother for some insurrection which he had made against him. The daughter was Berenice, who was lately married to Antiochus Theus, king of Syria. Anno 247. Ptolemy Philadelph. 38.

Ptolemy Philadelphus having been [r] a very learned prince, and a great patron of learning, as well as a great collector of books, many of those, who were eminent for any part of literature, resorted to him from all parts and partook of his

[o] Plinius, lib. 34. c. 14.
[p] Athenæus, lib. 12. c. 10.
[q] Canon Ptolemæ Astronomi.
[r] Athenæus, lib. 12. c. 10. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 789.

favour and bounty, [s] Seven celebrated poets of that age are especially said to have lived in his court; four of which, Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Aratus, have of their works still remaining, and among these the first of them hath an idyllium, and the second an hymn written in his praise. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, dedicated his history to him, [t] of which we have already spoken. And Zoilus, the snarling critic, [u] came also to his court; he had [x] written against Homer, whom all besides highly valued and admired; and he had also criticised upon the works of other eminent writers in a very biting and detracting style; and from hence his name grew so infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detractors; and *carping Zoilus* became a proverbial expression of infamy upon all such. Although his eminency this way was so remarkable, that he excelled all men in it, yet this could not recommend him to King Ptolemy. How great soever his wit were he hated him for the bitterness and ill-nature of it, and therefore would give him nothing; and, for the same reason, having drawn on him the odiom and aversion of all men, he at length died miserably; some say he was stoned, others that he was crucified by King Ptolemy for a crime he had committed deserving of that punishment.

This king had also been a great builder of new cities, and many old ones he repaired, and gave new names to them; and particularly two of this last sort were in Palestine; for there he rebuilt, on the west side of that country, Ace, [y] a famous port on that coast; and on the eastern side, that ancient city which is so often mentioned in scripture by the name of Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Ace he called, from one of his names, Ptolemais, and Rabbah, from the other of his names, [y] Philadelphia. The former of these is still in being, and, having recovered its old name, is called Acon; by which it is often mentioned, and is of very famous note in the histories of the holy war. The Turks at present name it [z] Acre. And he left so many other monuments of his magni-

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[s] Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 12.
[t] Part 1. book 7. under the year 350.
[u] Vitruvius in Præfatione ad librum 7. Architecturæ suæ.
[x] De eo vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 15.
[y] Vide Relandi Palestinam Illustratam.
[z] See Sandys, Thevenot, and other travellers.

ficence behind him, in cities, in temples, and other public edifices built by him, that it afterwards grew into a proverb, when any work was erected with more than ordinary sumptuousness, to call it Philadelphian.

But, notwithstanding the great expence he must have been at in all this, he died possessed of vast riches; for although [a] he had two great fleets, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Red sea, and maintained constantly in pay an army of 200,000 foot, and 40,000 horse, and had also 300 elephants, and 2000 armed chariots, besides arms in his magazines for 300,000 men more, and all other necessary implements and engines for war; yet he left in his treasury 740,000 Egyptian talents in ready money, which being reduced to our money, make a prodigious sum: for [b] every Egyptian talent contained 7500 Attic drachms, which is 1500 drachms more than an Attic talent. This shews how vast his revenues must have been, which he had the art to make the most of: for it is [c] Appian's character of him, that, as he was the most splendid and magnificent of all the kings of his time in the laying out of his money, so was he of all the most intent and skilful in the gathering of it in.

Antiochus Theus, as soon as he heard of the death of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, removed [d] Berenice from his bed, and again [d] recalled unto him Laodice and her children. But she knowing the unsteady and fickle humour of Antiochus, and therefore fearing that he might, upon as light change of mind, again recal Berenice, as he had her, resolved to make use of the present opportunity to secure the succession to her son. For, by the late treaty with Ptolemy, her children were to be disinherited, and the crown to be settled on the children which Bernice should bear unto him; and she already had one son by him. For the effecting of this design, [e] she procured Antiochus to be poisoned by his servants, and then, on his death, [e] did put one Artemon, that was very much like

Anno 246. Ptol. Euergetes I.

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[a] Appianus in Præfatione. Hieronymus in Comment. in Danielem. xi. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 203.

[b] Vide Barnardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus Antiquorum, p. 186.

[c] In Præfatione ad Opera Historica.

[d] Hieronymi. Comment. in Danielem xi.

[e] Hieronymus, ibid. Plinius, lib. 7. c. 12. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 14. Solinus, c. 1.

him, into his bed, to personate him as sick, till she should have brought her matters to bear; who acting his part well, the death of the king was not known, till by orders forged in his name, her eldest son by him, Seleucus Callinicus, was secured of the succession; and then, the death of the king being publicly declared, Seleucus ascended the throne without any opposition, and sat in it 20 years. But Laodice, not thinking him safe in the possession which he had thus taken of it, as long as Berenice and her son lived, [f] designs were laid to cut them both off; which Berenice being informed of, she fled with her son to Daphne, and there shut herself up in the asylum which was built in that place by Seleucus Nicator. But she being circumvented by the fraud of those, who, by the appointment of Laodice, did there besiege her, first her son, and afterwards she herself, were villanously slain, with all the Egyptian attendants that came with her. And hereby was exactly fulfilled what was foretold by the prophet Daniel concerning this marriage, (ch. xi. v. 6.) that is, that, *Neither he* (that is, Antiochus king of the North) *nor she* (that is, Berenice daughter of Ptolemy king of the South) *should continue in their power; but that he* (that is, King Antiochus) *should fall*, and *that she* (that is, Berenice,) being deprived of *him that strengthened her* (that is, of her father, who died a little before,) *should be given up with those that brought her*, that is, that came with her out of Egypt, and *her son*, [g] *whom she brought forth*, to be cut off, and destroyed. And so it happened to them all, in the manner as I have related.

While Berenice continued shut up and besieged in Daphne, [h] the cities of Lesser Asia, hearing of her distress, commiserated her case, and immediately, by a joint association, sent an army towards Antioch for her relief; and [i] Ptolemy Euergetes, her brother, hastened thither with a greater force out of Egypt for the same purpose. But both Berenice and her son were cut off before either of them could arrive for their help: whereon both armies turning their desire of saving the queen and her son into a rage for the revenging of their death, the

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[f] Hieronymus, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 27. c. 1. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. c. 50.

[g] So it is in the margin of our English Bible, and this is the truer version.

[h] Justin. lib. 27. c. 1.

[i] Justin. ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Hieronymus in Danielem xi. Polyænus, lib. 8. c. 50.

Asian forces joined the Egyptian for the effecting of it, and Ptolemy, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only slew Laodice, but also [k] made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and then, passing the Euphrates, brought all under him as far as Babylon and the river Tigris, and would have subjugated to him all the other provinces of the Syrian empire, but that a sedition arising in Egypt during his absence [l] called him back to suppress it. And therefore [m] having appointed Antiochus and Xantippus, two of his generals, the former of them to command the provinces he had taken on the west side of Mount Taurus, and the other to command the provinces he had taken on the east side of it, he marched back into Egypt, carrying with him vast treasures, which he had gotten together in the plunder of the conquered provinces: for [n] he brought from thence with him 40,000 talents of silver, a vast number of precious vessels of silver and gold, and images also to the number of 2500, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyses, on his conquering Egypt, carried thence into Persia. These Ptolemy having restored to their former temples, on his return from this expedition, he thereby much endeared himself to his people; for the Egyptians being then of all nations the most bigotted to their idolatrous worship, they highly valued this action of their king in thus bringing back their gods again to them. And, in acknowledgment hereof it was, that he had the name of Euergetes (i. e. *the Benefactor*) given unto him by them. And all this happened exactly as it was foretold by the prophet Daniel (chap. xi. 7, 8, 9.) For in that prophecy he tells us, that, after the king's daughter of the South should, with her son and her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be dead, *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is, Ptolemy Euergetes who, springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the estate of Ptolemy Philadelphus his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom; and that *he should come with an army, and enter into the fortress of the king of the North, and prevail against him, and should carry captive into Egypt the*

[k] Justin. Appian. & Hieronymus, ibid. Polybius, lib. 5. Polyænus, lib. 8. c. 50.

[l] Justin. lib. 27. c. 1.

[m] Hieronymus in Dan. xi.

[n] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. Monumentum Arduletanum.

gods of the Syrians, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold; and so should come, and return again into his own kingdom. And how exactly all this was fulfilled, what is above related doth sufficiently shew. It is said also in the same prophecy, (v. 8.) *That the king of the South, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the king of the North:* and so it happened; for Ptolemy Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years, as will be hereafter shewn.

When Ptolemy Euergetes went on this expedition into Syria, [o] Berenice his queen, out of the tender love she had for him, being much concerned, because of the danger which she feared he might be exposed to in this war, made a vow of consecrating her hair (in the fineness of which, it seems, the chief of her beauty consisted,) in case he returned again safe and unhurt; and therefore on his coming back again with safety and full success, for the fulfilling of her vow, she cut off her hair, and offered it up in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had built to his beloved wife Arsinoe, on the promontory of Zephyrium in Cyprus, by the name of the Zephyrian Venus. But there, a little after, the consecrated hair being lost, or perchance contemptuously flung away by the priests, and Ptolemy being much offended at it, Conon of Samos, a flattering mathematician then at Alexandria, to salve up the matter, and also to ingratiate himself with the king, gave out, that this hair was catched up into heaven; and he there shewed seven stars near the tail of the lion, not till then taken within any constellation, which he said were the queen's consecrated hair; which conceit of his other flattering astronomers following with the same view, or perchance not daring to say otherwise, hence *Coma Berenices* (i. e. *the hair of Berenice*) became one of the constellations, and is so to this day. Callimachus the poet, who, as I have afore shewn, lived in these times, made an hymn upon this hair of Queen Berenice, a translation of which being made by Catullus, is still extant among his poetical works.

On King Ptolemy Eurgetes' return from this expedition, [p] he took Jerusalem in his way, and there, by many sacrifices to the God of Israel, paid his acknowledgments for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria, choosing rather to offer up his thanks to him, than to the gods of

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[o] Hygini Poetica Astronomica. Nonnus in Historiarum Synagoga.

[p] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

of Egypt, for them; the reason of which very probably might be, that, being shewn the prophecies of Daniel concerning them, he inferred from thence, that he owed them only to that God, whose prophet had so fully predicted them.

As soon as Ptolemy was returned into Egypt, [q] Seleucus prepared a great fleet on the coasts of Syria, for the reducing of the revolted cities of Asia. But he was no sooner put to sea, but, meeting with a very violent storm, he lost all his ships in it, scarce any thing remaining of so great a preparation, besides himself, and some few of his followers, that escaped naked with him to land from this calamitous wreck. But this blow, how terrible soever it might seem at first to appear, by a strange turn of affairs, did all in the result prove to his advantage: for the revolted cities of Asia (who, out of the abhorrence they had of him for the murder of Berenice and her son, had gone over to Ptolemy,) on their hearing of this great loss, thinking that murder to be sufficiently revenged by it, took compassion of him and returned again to him. Anno 245. Ptol. Euergetes 2.

By which fortunate revolution being again restored to the best part of his dominions, [r] he prepared a great army against Ptolemy for the recovering of the rest. But in this attempt he had no better success than in the former: for, being overthrown in battle by Ptolemy, he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped to Antioch from this misadventure with as few of his followers as from the former; whereon, for the restoration of his broken affairs, he invited Antiochus his brother to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces in the Lesser Asia, that belonged to the Syrian empire on this condition. He was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and although then he was but 14 years old, yet, being of a forward and very aspiring spirit, or else (as is most probable) being conducted by others who were of this temper, he readily accepted of the proposal, and accordingly prepared for the accomplishing of it; but not so much out of a design of saving any part of the empire to his brother, as to gain it all to himself; for he was of a very rapacious and greedy disposition, laying his hands on all that he could get, right or wrong; whereon they called him *Hierax*, that is, *the hawk*, Anno 244. Ptol. Euergetes 3.

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[q] Justin. lib. 27. c. 2. Trogi Prologus 27. Polybius, lib. 5.
[r] Justin. lib. 27. c. 2.

because that bird flies at all that comes in his way, and takes every thing for pray that it can lay its talons upon.

After this second blow received by Seleucus, [s] the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia in Lesser Asia, out of the affection which they bore unto him, entered into a league to join all their power and strength for the support of his interest and royal majesty; which they caused to be engraven on a large column of marble. This very marble column is now standing in the theatre yard at Oxford, with the said league engraven on it in Greek capital letters, still very legible; from whence it was published by me among the Marmora Oxoniensia about forty years since. It was brought out of Asia by *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, in the beginning of the reign of King Charles I. and was given, with other marbles to the university of Oxford, by *Henry Duke of Norfolk* his grandson, in the reign of King Charles II.

Anno 243. Ptol. Euergetes 4.

Ptolemy, on his hearing that Antiochus was preparing to join Seleucus against him, that he might not have to do with both at the same time, [t] came to agreement with Seleucus; and a peace was concluded between them for ten years.

Anno 242. Ptol. Euergetes 5.

However, Antiochus desisted not from his preparations, which Seleucus, now understanding to be made against himself, [u] marched over mount Taurus to suppress him. The pretence for the war on Antiochus' part was the promise that Seleucus had made him of all his provinces in Lesser Asia for his assistance against Ptolemy. But Seleucus, being delivered from that war without his assistance, thought himself not obliged to any thing by that promise. But Antiochus persisting in his demand, and the other in his refusal, this brought the controversy to the decision of a battle between them. It was fought [x] near Ancyra in Lesser Asia; in which Seleucus being overthrown, hardly escaped with his life; and it fared very little better with Antiochus: for having won this victory chiefly by the assistance of the Galatians, or Gauls of Asia, whom he had hired into his service, these Barbarians, on a

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[s] Marmora Oxiensia, p. 5, 6, &c.

[t] Justin. lib. 27. c. 2.

[u] Trogus in Prologo 27. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750. Justin. lib. 27. c. 2.

[x] Polyænus lib. 8. c. 61. Justin. lib. 27. c. 2. Athenæus, lib. 13. Plutarchus, περὶ Φιλαδελφίας.

rumour spread that Seleucus was slain in the battle, plotted the death of the other brother also, reckoning that, in case both were cut off, all Asia would be theirs; whereon Antiochus, having no other way to save himself, redeemed his life, by giving them all the treasure he had for the ransom of it.

Eumenes, [y] king of Pergamus, making his advantage of these divisions, marched against Antiochus and the Gauls with all his forces, purposing to suppress them both at once. This forced Antiochus to a new treaty with the Gauls; whereon he was content, instead of being their master, to become their confederate, for the mutual defence of both; but Eumenes falling on them before they could recruit themselves after the losses sustained in the late battle at Ancyra, had an easy victory over both, and thereon over-ran all the Lesser Asia.

Eumenes, after this victory, giving himself up to much drinking, [z] died in the excess of it, after he had reigned 22 years. He having no children of his own was succeeded in his kingdom by his cousin-german Attalus, the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother; who, being a wise and valiant prince, [a] maintained himself in the acquisitions of his family; and, having wholly subdued the Gauls, he found himself so firmly established in his dominions by it, that he thenceforth openly assumed the title of king; for his predecessors, though they had the thing, yet abstained from the name. Attalus was the first of that family that took it upon the occasion that I have mentioned; and it was enjoyed by his posterity, with the dominions belonging to it, to the third generation after him. Anno 241. Ptol. Euergetes 6.

While Eumenes, and Attalus after him, thus curtailed the Syrian empire in the west side, [b] Theodotus and Arsaces did the same on the east. For it being reported, that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, Arsaces, thinking this an opportunity for him to enlarge himself, seized on Hyrca-

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[y] Justin. lib. 27. c. 3. He there calls him king of Bythinia by mistake, for there was no king of Bithynia of that name at this time, as appears from Memnon in the exerptions of Photius, cod. 234.

[z] Athenæus, lib. 10. c. 16.

[a] Livius, lib. 33. Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, lib. 18. Suidas in voce Ἄτταλος. Polyænus, lib. 4. c. 19.

[b] Justin. lib. 41. c. 4.

nia, and, adding that to Parthia, established his kingdom over both: and, a little after Theodotus dying, he made a league with his son of the same name, who succeeded him in Bactria, for their mutual defence, and thereby they both strengthened themselves in the possession of what they had gotten. But, notwithstanding all this, [c] the two brothers still went on with their wars against each other, without regarding that, while they were thus contending between themselves for their father's empire, they lost it by piece-meals to others, who were enemies to both.

This war in the course of it was at length carried [d] into Mesopotamia; and then most likely happened the battle in Babylonia which Judas Maccabæus makes mention of in his speech to his army (2 Maccab. viii. 20.) in which he saith, 8000 of the Babylonish Jews, joined with 4000 Macedonians, vanquished the Galatians, and slew of their army 120,000 men. For Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, was a part of Mesopotamia. And Antiochus Hierax had the Galatians in confederacy with him; and at this time [e] they are said to have come in such great swarms into the East, as to fill all Asia with their numbers; and that they did usually let themselves to hire in all wars, which in those times the eastern kings had one with another, these princes thinking themselves best strengthened for victory when they had the most of them in their armies; and that this Antiochus was assisted by them in this war, hath been already said.

Anno 240. Ptol. Euergetes 7.

But whether it were by this, or some other victory, Seleucus had at length the advantage in this war; so that Antiochus, being vanquished and broken, [f] was forced to shift from place to place with the few remains of his baffled party, till at last being driven out of Mesopotamia, and finding no other place where he could be safe within the Syrian empire, he fled to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had married. But that king, notwithstanding the alliance and affinity he had

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[c] Justin. lib. 27. c. 3.

[d] Trogus in Prologo 27. Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 4. c. 17.

[e] Justin speaking af the Gauls, or Galatians, hath these words: Gallorum ea tempestate tantæ fæcunditati juventus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Denique neque reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exorcitu ulla bella gesserunt,

[f] Justin. lib. 27. c. 3. Polyænus, ibid.

IMPERIUM
PERSICUM
ANTIQUUM
PONTUS EUXINUS
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
CASPIUM MARE
MEDIA
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE ERYTHRAEUM

contracted with him, soon growing weary of maintaining an exile, who could bring no advantage to him, ordered him to be cut off. But, while measures were taking for the executing hereof, Antiochus, getting notice of the design, escaped from thence into Egypt, choosing rather to put himself into the hands of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his family, than trust himself upon any terms with his brother, whom he was conscious he had so much offended: and he fared not at all the better for it; for, as soon as he arrived in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be clapped up in safe custody, in which he kept him confined several years, till at length having broken out of prison, by the assistance of a courtezan, whom he was familiar with, as he was making his escape out of Egypt, he fell among thieves, and was slain by them.

In the interim King Ptolemy Euergetes enjoying full peace, applied himself to the cultivating of learning in his kingdom, and the enlarging of his father's library at Alexandria with all manner of books for the service of this design. The method which he took for the collecting of them [g] hath been already mentioned; and the care of an able library-keeper being very necessary, both for the making of a good choice of books in the collection, and also for the preserving of them for the use intended, on the death of Zenodotus, who, [h] from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of the present king, had the keeping of the royal library at Alexandria, Euergetes [i] invited Eratosthenes from Athens (where he was in great reputation for his learning) to take this charge upon him. He was, by his birth, a Cyrenian, and had been scholar to Callimachus his countryman, and was a person of universal knowledge, and is often quoted as such by Pliny, Strabo, and others. And therefore they are mistaken, who, finding him called *Beta*, (*i. e.* the second) think he had that name to denote him a second-rate man among the learned. By that appellation was meant no more, than that he was [k] the second library-keeper

Anno 239. Ptol. Euergetes 8.

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[g] Part 2. book 1. under the year 284.

[h] Suidas in Ζηνόδοτος.

[i] Suidas in Ἀπολλώνιος & Ἐρατοσθένης.

[k] Marcianus Hiracliotes, who tells us of this name given to Eratosthenes, saith, he was called by the president of the museum at Alexandria, which is a manifest argument, that he was called so only in respect of the office which he bore in that museum in

of the royal library at Alexandria after the first founding of it. As to his skill in all manner of learning, he was second to none of his time, [l] as the many books he wrote did then sufficiently make appear, though now not extant. That which at present we are most beholden to him for is a catalogue which he hath given us of all the kings that reigned at Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their reigns from Menes, or Misraim, who first planted Egypt after the flood, down to the time of the Trojan war. It contains a series of 38 kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after the other; and it is still extant [m] in Syncellus. Our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham, [n] hath made a good use of it in settling the Egyptian chronology. It is one of the noblest and most venerable monuments of antiquity that is now extant; for it was [o] extracted out of the ancientest records of that country at the command of Ptolemy Euergetes; and there is nothing in the profane history that begins higher. It is probable this extract was made to supply the defect of Manetho, whose catalogue of the Thebean kings in Egypt doth not begin but where this of Eratosthenes ends.

Seleucus, being delivered from the troubles created him by his brother, and having repaired the disorders at home which that war had occasioned, [p] marched eastward to reduce those that had revolted from him in those parts. But he had very lame success in this undertaking; for Arsaces, having now had a long time allowed him to settle himself in his usurpations, had made himself too strong in them to be again easily dispossessed; and therefore Seleucus, having in vain attempted it in this expedition, was forced to return with baffle and disappointment. Perchance a longer stay in those parts might have opened him a way to better success: but, some commotions [q] arising at home during his absence, he was forced to return to suppress them. In the interim Arsaces made use of the further respite hereby given him so to strengthen and establish himself in his usurped dominions, that he became superior to all attempts that were afterwards made to disturb him.

Anno 256. Ptol. Euergetes 11.

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being the second library-keeper of the library belonging to it in succession after Zenodotus, who was the first.

[l] De Libris ab eo scriptis, vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 17.

[m] A pagina 91. ad paginam 147.

[n] In Canone Chronico.

[o] Syncellus, p. 91. & p. 147.

[p] Justin. lib. 41. c. 4.

[q] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.

However, Seleucus, as soon as he had leisure from his other affairs, made a second expedition against him; but with much worse success than he had in the former: for his usual ill-fortune here pursuing him, he was not only overthrown by Arsaces in a great battle, but was also himself [r] taken prisoner in it. The day on which Arsaces gained this victory, was long after [s] annually observed by the Parthians with great solemnity, as being in their opinion, the first day of their freedom; whereas in truth it was the first of their slavery; for there was never any greater tyranny in the world, than that of the Parthian kings, under which they thenceforth fell. The Macedonian yoke would have been much easier to them, had they still continued under it. From this time Arsaces took on him the title of king, and founded that empire in the East, which afterwards grew up to be so great and powerful, as to become a terror even to the Romans, who were a terror to all else. From him all that reigned after him in that empire, [t] in honour of him, took the name of Arsaces, in the same manner as all the kings of Egypt after Ptolemy Soter took the name of Ptolemy, as long as those of his race continued to reign in that country. Anno 230. Ptol. Euergetes 17.

[u] Onias the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem growing very old, and increasing in covetousness with his age, and being also a very weak and inconsiderate man, neglected to pay to King Ptolemy Euergetes the usual tribute of 20 talents, which had constantly been paid by the former high priests his predecessors, as the stated tribute annually due to the kings of Egypt from them. And the arrears now growing high, the king sent Athenion, one of his court, to Jerusalem, to demand of the Jews the money, and to require full payment of it forthwith to be made; threatening, that, in case this were not immediately complied with, he would send his soldiers to dispossess them of their country, and divide it among them. On the arrival of Athenion at Jerusalem with this message, the whole city Anno 226. Ptol. Euergetes 21.

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[r] Athenæus, lib. 4. c. 13. That it was in a second expedition that Seleucus was taken prisoner by Arsaces, appears from this that Justin tells us he returned from the first expedition to quell insurrections at home, raised there against him in his absence, lib. 41. c. 5.

[s] Justin. lib. 41. c. 4.

[t] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.

[u] Josephus Antiq. lib. 13.

was put into a great fright, as not knowing what course to take for the appeasing of the king's wrath, and the delivering of themselves from the danger that was threatened. At this time [x] there was a young man of great reputation among the Jews for his prudence, justice, and sanctity of life, called Joseph, who was nearly related to Onias; for he was the son of Tobias, a prime man of that nation, by a sister of his. Joseph being absent at his seat in the country, when this messenger came to Jerusalem, his mother took care to send him an account of what had happened; whereon coming immediately to Jerusalem, he very severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public interest of the people, as thus, for the saving of his money, to expose them to such danger; (for in those times the high priest was the chief governor in all the temporal affairs, as well as the ecclesiastical of that nation:) and he further told him, that, things being brought to this pass by his ill conduct, there was no other way to be taken for the remedy, but for him to go to the Egyptian court, and there endeavour, by his application to the king, to make up the matter. But Onias, by the dulness of his temper, as well as by his age, wanting vigour for such an undertaking, utterly declined it, telling his nephew, that he would quit his station both in church and state, rather than put himself upon that journey; whereon Joseph desired, that the matter might be committed to him, and he would go to the king in his stead; which Onias readily consenting to, Joseph went up unto the temple, and there called together the people (for the outer court of the temple was the usual place for the assembling of the people on all occasions,) and acquainted them of his having undertaken, by the appointment of Onias, to go ambassador from them to the king on their behalf; and, if they thought fit to approve hereof, he desired them no longer to disturb themselves with fears; for he doubted not, but that, on his access to the king, he should be able to set all right again with him. At which the people much rejoicing, gave him great thanks for what he had proposed to do for them, and earnestly desired him to proceed in it. Hereon he immediately went to find out Athenion, and, having gotten him to his house, and there entertained him, as long as he tarried at Jerusalem, with a very kind and splendid hospitality, and having also, at his departure, pre-

[x] Ibid. c. 4.

sented him with several very valuable gifts, he sent him away fully engaged to make as fair a representation to the king as the case would bear; and at the same time assured him, that he would forthwith follow after him to the Egyptian court, there to give the king full satisfaction as to the matter which he had sent him about. Athenion returned to Alexandria exceedingly well pleased with the kind and obliging entertainment which he had from Joseph, and so much taken with the prudent behaviour and noble deportment which he observed in him, that, on his making his report to the king of his embassy, and his telling him of the intentions of Joseph, the high priest's nephew, speedily to attend him, for the giving of him full satisfaction, he took occasion to set forth his character with so great advantage, as made the king very desirous of seeing him, and fully prepared to receive him with all manner of favour and respects. As soon as the ambassador was gone from Jerusalem, Joseph, having taken up of the bankers of Samaria 20,000 drachms, which amounted to about 700 pounds of our money, and thereby provided himself with an equipage to appear at the Egyptian court, he set out for Alexandria, and having, on the way thither, chanced on the road to fall in with several of the chief nobility of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, who were travelling to the same place, he joined company with them in the remaining part of the journey. Their business thither was to farm of the king his revenues of those provinces, and, having provided themselves with very splendid equipages, to make the better appearance at Ptolemy's court, they laughed at Joseph for the meanness of his, and made it the subject of their sport for the most part of the way as they went. Joseph bore all this with patience, but, in the mean time, accurately observing the discourse which they had with each other about their business, he got thereby such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them ever after. On their arrival at Alexandria, they found the king was gone to Memphis: Joseph alone hastened thither after him, and had the good fortune to meet him on the road returning to Alexandria, while Athenion was with him and his queen in the same chariot. As soon as Athenion had espied him, he pointed him out to the king, telling him, that this was the young man, Onias' nephew, of whom he had spoken so much to him. Whereon the king called him to him, and took him into his chariot; and, having talked to him of the ill usage of Onias towards him, in not paying him his tribute, Joseph excused his uncle, by reason

of his age and weakness, in so handsome a manner, as not only satisfied the king, but also raised in him so good an opinion of the advocate, that he took him into his particular favour, and, on his arrival at Alexandria, ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be there maintained at his own table. And Joseph afterwards did him that service, as made him sufficient recompence for it: for, when the day was come whereon the king used annually to let to farm the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up in their order, by way of auction, to the highest bidder, and the highest which the Syrians and Phœnicians, who had been Joseph's fellow-travellers into Egypt, would bid for the provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, amounted to no more than 8000 talents, Joseph knowing, from the discourse which they had with each other on the road while he travelled with them, that they were worth more than twice as much, blamed them for beating down the king's revenues to so low a price, and offered upon them double as much, bidding 16,000 talents for those provinces over and above the forfeitures: for he proposed to give so much for the ordinary revenues only, and to return all the forfeitures besides into the king's treasury, which used before to belong to the farmers. Ptolemy liked very well the advancing of his revenues by so large an augmentation; but, doubting the ability of the bidder to make good his proposal, asked him, what security he would give him for it? Joseph very facetiously replied, that he would give him the security of persons beyond all exception; and, when bid to name them, he named the king and the queen to be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook; the king, laughing at the pleasantness of the answer, was so taken with it, that he trusted him upon his own word, without any other securities. Whereon Joseph, having borrowed 500 talents at Alexandria, and satisfied the king as to his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of being the king's receiver-general of all his revenues in the provinces above mentioned, and having received a guard of 2000 men, at his desire, for the supporting of him in the execution of his office, he immediately left Alexandria to enter on it. On his arrival at Askelon, and there demanding the king's duties, they not only refused payment, but also affronted him with rude and opprobrious language; whereon, having commanded his soldiers to take up 20 of the ringleaders, he executed exemplary justice upon them, and sent their forfeited estates to the king,

amounting to 1000 talents; and he having done the like at Scythopolis, another city in Palestine, where he was resisted in the same manner, the example which he made of these two places so terrified all the rest, that, after this, every where else the gates were opened to him, and all paid him the king's dues without any more refusal or opposition: of which he having given the king a full account, the prudence and steadiness of his conduct met with such thorough approbation, that he continued in this office under Ptolemy Euergetes, and Ptolemy Philopater, his son, 22 years, till Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater, lost those provinces to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, in the first year of his reign: for there I place the end of the 22 years which Josephus assigns him for his continuance in this office, and not in the end of his life, as most others do. For the same Josephus tells us, that he [y] was a young man when he first undertook it; and, in another place, that he was [z] very old when he sent Hyrcanus his son into Egypt, which was some time before his death. But 22 years was too short a time from being young to grow very old: for, supposing him to have been 30 when he first became tax-gatherer for the king of Egypt in Syria and Palestine, 22 more would make him but 52; and he could not be said to be old at that age, and much less at any time before it. Cœle-Syria and Palestine had been again restored to Ptolemy Epiphanes, on his marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great; and after that it was, that Joseph, having been again restored to his office of tax-gatherer in those provinces, sent Hyrcanus into Egypt to congratulate the king on the birth of his eldest son, he being then too old, as [a] Josephus tells us, to go himself. Allowing the 22 years of Joseph's office of tax-gatherer in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, for the king of Egypt, to end on Antiochus' taking those provinces from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and, that, on their being again restored to him, Joseph was again restored to his office, and died in it, about the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Philopater in Syria, this will solve all difficulties in the history which Josephus gives us of this matter. That his life could

[y] Josephus' words are, that he then was νεος μεν ετι την ηλικιαν. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 4.

[z] Being hindered, saith Josephus, from going himself into Egypt on that occasion, ὑπο γηρως, *i. e.* by reason of his old age. Antiq. ibidem.

[a] Antiq. ibid.

not end with these 22 years hath been already shewn, for he was an old man before he died; and where then can the end of these 22 years of his office be better placed, than where ended in those provinces the authority of the king of Egypt, under which he held it? and this ending of these 22 years tells us where they did begin: and that they could not begin sooner than where I have said, the age of Onias sufficiently proves: for the history [b] of Josephus tells us, it was when he was grown very old, which must determine us to the latter end of his life; and it was but eight years before his death where I place it. They who put the beginning of these 22 years higher up, or end them with the end of Joseph's life (as most chronologers do both,) can never make Josephus consistent with himself in that relation which he hath given us of this whole matter.

Seleucus, having continued a prisoner in Parthia till this time, [c] there died of a fall from his horse, as he was riding abroad. Athenæus [d] tells us, that Arsaces maintained him royally during his captivity; but that he released him (as some will have it) doth not any where appear. Justin tells us, that he died in the manner as I have related, being [e] then in banishment, and having lost his kingdom; which can be understood no otherwise than of the banishment and loss of reigning which he sustained, by being held in captivity by this Parthian king, till he died in it. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of the generals of his armies. By her he had two sons and a daughter; the sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the daughter he married to Mithridates, king of Pontus, with whom he gave Phrygia to him in a dower.

Seleucus, being the eldest of the two sons, [f] succeeded him in the throne, and took the name of Ceraunus, *i. e.* the Thunderer, a title which very little became him; for he was a very weak prince, in body, mind, and purse, and never did any thing worthy of that name. His reign was very short, and his authority low, both in the army and the provinces; and that he was supported in either, was owing to his kinsman Achæus, the son of Andromachus, [g] his mother's brother, who, being a wise and valiant man, re-

Anno 225. Ptol. Euergetes 22.

[b] Antiq. ibid. [c] Justin. lib. 27. c. 3. [d] Lib. 4. c. 13.

[e] Seleucus, amisso regno, equo præcipitatus finitur. Sic fratres quasi germanis casibus exules ambo post regna scelerum suorum pœnas luerunt. Justin. lib. 27. c. 3.

[f] Polybius, lib. 4. p. 315. & lib. 5. p. 386. Appian in Syriacis.

[g] Polybius, lib. 4. p. 317.

gulated and guided his affairs, as well as the shattered state his father left them in would admit. As to Andromachus, he having been taken prisoner by Ptolemy in the wars which he had with Callinicus, was detained a prisoner at Alexandria during all this reign, and some part of the next; till at length the Rhodians, to gain favour with Achæus, got him released, and sent him to him, while he reigned in Lesser Asia.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, [h] having possessed himself of all Lesser Asia, from mount Taurus to the Hellespont, Seleucus marched with an army against him, leaving Hermias, a Carian, his lieutenant in Syria, during his absence. Achæus his kinsman accompanied him in this expedition, and served him in it, as well as the circumstances of his affairs would admit. Anno 224. Ptol. Euergetes 23.

But money being wanting to pay the army, and the weakness of the king rendering him contemptible to the soldiers, [i] Nicanor and Apaturius, two of his chief commanders, conspired against him, while he lay in Phrygia, and, by poison, put an end to his life. But Achæus, being then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the traiterous authors of it, with all that were concerned with them in the treason; and afterward managed the army with that prudence and resolution, that he not only kept all there in order, but also prevented Attalus from reaping any advantage from this accident, which otherwise might have ruined the whole interest of the Syrian empire in those parts. Seleucus dying without children, the army [k] offered Achæus the crown; and several of the provinces concurred with them herein. But he then generously refused it, though he was afterwards, in a less favourable juncture, forced to assume it in his own defence, having then no other way left to secure himself against the designs which the ministers at court had there contrived for his ruin. At present, instead of taking it to himself, he carefully preserved it for the next lawful successor, Antiochus, the brother of the late deceased king, who was then a minor, not exceeding the 15th year of his age. When Seleucus marched into the Lesser Asia, he sent him to Babylonia to be [l] there educated; and there he was at the time of Se- Anno 223. Ptol. Euer-

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[h] Polybius, lib. 4. p. 315.

[i] Polybius, ibid. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 29. c. 5. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. [k] Polybius, ibid.

[l] At Seleucia, which stood in the province of Babylonia, and was then the metropolis of all the eastern parts, instead of Babylon, which was now desolated.

leucus' death: from whence being [m] sent for to Antioch, he there ascended the throne after his brother, and sat on it 36 years. By reason of the many great actions done by him, he had the surname of Magnus (i. e. *the Great.*) Achæus, the better to secure him in the succession, sent part of the army which followed Seleucus to him into Syria, under the command of Epigenes, one of the most experienced commanders of the late king; the rest he retained with him in the Lesser Asia, for the support of the Syrian interest in those parts.

Antiochus, [n] on the first settling of his kingdom, sent Molon and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, making the former governor of Media, and the other governor of Persia. All the provinces of Lesser Asia, he committed to the charge of Achæus. Epigenes he made general of the forces which he kept about him, and retained Hermias the Carian to be his chief minister of state, in the same station which he held under his brother. Achæus soon recovered [o] all that Attalus had wrested from the Syrian empire, and reduced him within the narrow limits of his own kingdom of Pergamus. But [p] Alexander and Molon, despising the youth of the king, as soon as they were settled in the provinces which they were sent to govern, rebelled against him, and set up for themselves, each declaring himself sovereign of the country he had taken possession of.

Anno 222. Ptol. Euergetes 25.

While these things were a-doing, there happened a very violent earthquake in the East, which made great devastations in those parts, especially in Caria and the island of Rhodes. In [q] the latter it threw down not only the walls of the city of Rhodes, and their houses, but also the great colossus there erected in the mouth of their harbour, which was one of the seven wonders of the world. It was [r] a prodigious statue of brass, there erected to the sun, of 70 cubits, or 105 feet in height, and every thing else of it was in proportion hereto.

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[m] Polybius, ibid. & lib. 5. p. 386. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 29. c. 1.

[n] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 386.

[o] Idem, lib. 4. p. 315.

[p] Idem. lib. 5. p. 386.

[q] Eusebii Coronicon. Orosius, lib. 4. c. 13. Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428, 429.

[r] Plinius, lib. 34. c. 7. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 652; vide etiam Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon, No. 1794. p. 97.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, having for a whole year besieged the city of Rhodes, without being able to take it, at length, being wearied out with so long lying there, was content to make peace with them, as I have already related in the 8th book of the first part of this History. On his departure thence, he left the Rhodians all his engines and other preparations of war, which he had there provided for the carrying on of that siege. These the Rhodians afterwards sold for 300 talents, with which money, adding other sums thereto, they erected this colossus. The artificer that made it [s] was Chares of Lindus, who was 12 years in completing the work; and, 66 years after it was thrown down by this earthquake. It was begun, therefore, to be made in the year before Christ 300; it was finished in the year 288, and overthrown in the year 222. On this accident, the Rhodians [t] sent abroad ambassadors a-begging to all the princes and states, of the Grecian name or original, who, exaggerating their losses, procured vast sums for the repairing of them, especially from the kings of Egypt, Macedon, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia, which above five times exceeded the value of their damages. And, when they had got the money, instead of setting up the colossus again (for which most of it was given,) [u] they pretended that an oracle from Delphos forbid it, and put the whole sum into their own pockets; whereby they very much enriched themselves. So this colossus lay where it fell, without being any more erected, and there was let lie 894 years; till at length, in the year of our Lord 672, [x] Moawias, the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having taken Rhodes, sold the brass to a Jewish merchant, who loaded with it 900 camels; and therefore, allowing 800 pound weight to every camel's burden, the brass of colossus, after the waste of so many years by the rust and wear of the brass itself, and the purloinings and embezzlements of men, amounted to 720,000 pound weight.

Toward the end of this year [y] died Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, after he had reigned over that kingdom 25 years. He was the last king of that race that [z] governed himself with

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[s] Plinius, ibid. [t] Polybius lib. 5. p. 428, 429.

[u] Idem. ibid. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 650.

[x] Zonars sub regno Constantis Imperatoris Heraclii Nepotis, & Cedrenus. Vide etiam Scaligerum loco modo citato.

[y] Polybius, lib. 2. p. 155. Justin. lib. 29. c. 1. Plutarch. in Cleomene. Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone.

[z] Strobo. lib. 17. p. 796.

any temper or virtue, all that after succeeded being monsters of luxury and vice. After having made peace with Syria, he mostly applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward; and he [a] extended them a great way down the Red sea, making himself master of all the coasts of it, both on the Arabian as well as on the Ethiopian side, even down to the straits through which it dischargeth itself into the Southern ocean.

On his death, he was succeeded [b] by Ptolemy Philopater his son, [c] a most profligate and vicious young prince. He was supposed to have [d] made away with his father by poison; and he had not been long on the throne ere he added to that parricide the murder [e] of his mother, and of Magas his brother; and a little after followed the death of Cleomenes king of Sparta, occasioned by the same measures of wickedness and barbarity. [f] He having been vanquished and driven out of Greece by Antigonus, king of Macedon, fled to Ptolemy Euergetes, and was kindly received by him: but that king a little after dying, he had not that favour from his successor. However, being looked upon as a person of great wisdom and sagacity, Sosibius, who was Philopater's chief minister of state, thought fit to communicate to him his master's design of cutting off Magas his brother, and to ask his advice about it; which Cleomenes having dissuaded him from, and given some reasons for it which much displeased Sosibius, occasion was taken, from another matter, to cast him into prison: from whence having gotten loose, and gathered his friends and followers together, who came with him from Sparta, he took the advantage of Ptolemy's being absent from Alexandria, to call and excite the people to assume their liberty, and free themselves from the tyranny which they were then under: but, not succeeding in this attempt, he slew himself in the streets of the city, as did also all the rest that were with him. Plutarch, in his life of Cleomenes, hath given us a full narrative of this matter; and so also hath Polybius in the 5th book of his history.

Anno 221. Ptol. Philopater 1.

Antiochus [g] taking the advantage of Euergetes' death, and

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[a] Monumentum Adulitanum.

[b] Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone. Eusebius in Chronico.

[c] Plutarchus in Cleomene. Strabo, ibid. Polybius, lib. 5. p. 380, 381.

[d] Justin. lib. 29. c. 1.

[e] Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5. p. 380, 382.

[f] Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5.

[g] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 387. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1.

the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince after him, thought it a proper time for him to attempt the recovery of Syria; and Hermias his prime minister pressed hard for his going in person to this war, contrary to the opinion of Epigenes his general; who thought it chiefly concerned him to suppress the rebellion of Alexander and Molon in the East; and therefore advised him to march immediately in person with the main of his army for the subduing of those rebels, before they should gather greater strength in the revolted provinces against him. But the opinion of Hermias taking place, Antiochus marched towards Cœle-Syria with one part of his army, and sent Zeno and Theodotus Hermiolius, two of his generals, with the other to suppress the rebels. While he was on his march towards Cœle-Syria, being arrived at Seleucia near Zeugma, there [h] was brought thither to him Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, to be his wife, which caused his stay for some time in that place to celebrate the nuptials. But the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted by ill news from the East: for [i] his generals being there overpowered by the joint forces of Alexander and Molon, were forced to retire and leave them masters of the field. Hereon Antiochus, inclining to the advice given by Epigenes, resolved to desist from his expedition in Cœle-Syria, and march directly with all his forces into the East for the suppressing of this rebellion, before it should grow to any greater head. But [k] Hermias persisting in his former opinion, for the sake of some private views of his own which he had therein, overbore all opposition to it, and prevailed with the king to send another general with more forces into the East, and proceed himself in his former intended expedition into Cœle-Syria. The general sent into the East was Xinætas an Achæan, whose commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two former generals, and take upon him the chief command of the whole army. But he came off with worse success than those whom he succeeded; for [l] passing the Tigris, he was there drawn into a snare, and circumvented by a stratagem of the enemy's, and he, and all the forces that passed with him, were cut off and destroyed; whereon the rebels made themselves masters of the province of Babylonia, and almost all Mesopotamia, without any opposition. In the interim [m] Antio-

[h] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 388.
[i] Idem, lib. 5. p. 389.
[k] Idem, p. 390.
[l] Idem, p. 391—393.
[m] Idem, lib. 5. p. 390.

chus, proceeding in his expedition in Cœle-Syria, penetrated as far as the valley which lieth between two ridges of the mountains called Libanus and Antilibanus; but there he found the passes of those mountains so well fortified, and such resistance made in them by Theodotus an Ætolian, who was there governor for Ptolemy, that he was forced to retreat without making any further progress that way: and the ill news which he had by this time received of the loss of Xinætus and his army in the East hastened his return; for now [n] being fully convinced that he had nothing else to do but to follow the advice which Epigenes had at first given him, and march in person against the rebels, and all else about him being of the same opinion, he fully resolved on it; and Hermias durst not say any more against it. But to be revenged on Epigenes for thwarting his designs herein, he did, by forged letters, fix a plot of treason upon him, and caused him to be cut off for it. In the interim Antiochus, though the year was now far spent, passed the Euphrates, and having there joined his other forces, that he might be the nearer at hand for action the next spring, he put his army into winter-quarters in those parts, and there waited the proper season for the beginning of the war.

And, as soon as that approached, [o] he marched directly to the Tigris, and having passed that river, forced Molon to a battle, wherein he got such an entire victory over him, that the rebel, finding his cause absolutely lost, out of despair, slew himself. Alexander was then absent in Persia: but Nicolas, another brother escaping from the battle, brought him the ills news thither; whereon they slew first their mother, then their wives and children, and lastly themselves, that so they might avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. And thus ended this rebellion (as it is to be wished all rebellions might end) in a most calamitous destruction of all that were concerned in it.

Anno 220. Ptol. Philopater 2.

After this victory, [p] the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after a severe reprimand upon them for their rebellion, received them to pardon, and ordered them into Media, under the command of those whom he sent to regulate the affairs of that province; and then returning to Seleucia on the Tigris, there continued, for some time, to give his orders for the resettling of his authority in the revolted provinces, and the reducing of all things again in them to their

[n] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 393, 394.
[o] Idem. p. 398, 599.
[p] Idem, lib. 5. p. 395, 396, &c.

former order; which having effected by such proper instruments as he thought fit to employ herein, he marched against the Atropatians, a people inhabiting on the west of Media, in a country now called Georgia: [q] Artabazes their king, being then a very old man, and grown decrepit with age, was so terrified on the approach of Antiochus with his victorious army, that he sent ambassadors to make his submission, and agreed to peace with him on his own terms.

By this time Hermias, through his insolence and haughty conduct, [r] growing intolerable to his master, as well as to all else, Apollophanes the king's physician, who had at all times his ear on the occasions of his health, took the advantage of it to represent unto him the danger he was in from this minister, telling him, that it was time for him to look to himself, and take care that he did not meet with the same fate as his brother did in Phrygia, and be cut off by those he most confided in; that it was manifest Hermias was laying designs for himself; and that no time was any longer to be lost for the preventing of them. Antiochus who had the same sentiments with his physician, but had hitherto suppressed them, out of diffidence to whom to communicate them, very gladly received the proposal, and immediately entered on measures for the ridding himself of this odious and dangerous minister; and accordingly, as it had been concerted, having drawn him off from the army to accompany him on a walking abroad to take the air, as was pretended, for his health, as soon as he had thus decoyed him at a convenient distance from all that might give him any assistance, he ordered him to be cut off by those that attended him; which was much to the satisfaction of all the provinces of the Syrian empire: for he being a man of great cruelty, pride, and insolence, managed all things with severity and violence, bearing no contradiction to his sentiments, or opposition to any thing he would have done, or suffering any person or thing to stand in his way to what he intended; which drew on him a general odium every where. But no where was there a more signal instance of it, than at Apamea in Syria; for there they no sooner heard of his death, but they fell on his wife and children, whom he had left in that city, and stoned them all to death.

After this Antiochus having thus successfully managed his affairs in the East, and settled all the provinces there under

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[q] Polybius, p. 400. [r] Idem, lib. 5. p. 400, & 401.

such governors as he thought he might best confide in, [s] he marched back into Syria, and there put his army into winter-quarters; and at Antioch spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers, and the officers of his army, about the operations of the next year's war.

For he had still two dangerous enterprizes to undertake for the restoring of the Syrian empire; the first against Ptolemy, for the recovery of Syria, and the other against Achæus, who had made himself master of all the Lesser Asia. For Ptolemy Energetes having, in the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, seized all Syria, as hath been above related, a great part of it was still held by his successor the present Egyptian king; and Antiochus had reason to be very uneasy in having him so near a neighbour. And as to Achæus, it hath been already related how he refused the crown, when offered him, on the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and instead of putting it on his own head, faithfully preserved it for Antiochus, the next rightful heir. Hereon Antiochus committed to him the government of all his provinces in Lesser Asia; which charge he having managed with that valour and wisdom of conduct, as to recover them all out of the hands of Attalus king of Pergamus, who had in a manner made himself absolute master of them, this success made him envied by the chief minister, and others who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to suppress him, forged letters were produced to prove him to have entertained traitorous designs for the usurping of the crown, and to hold correspondence with Ptolemy, and to be in league with him for this purpose; which [t] Achæus having notice of, found he had no other way to secure himself against the mischievous machinations of those men, than by doing what he was charged with. And therefore, being necessitated for his own defence to set up for himself, he assumed the crown, which he had before refused, and declared himself king of Asia. So that Antiochus having these two dangerous wars upon his hands, which of these two he should first undertake, either that against Ptolemy for the recovery of Syria, or that against Achæus for the recovery of Lesser Asia, was the matter which was under debate in the king's council.

But at length, upon full consideration, it [u] being resolved,

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[s] Idem, lib. 5. [t] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 401.
[u] Idem, lib. 5. p. 402.

first to reduce all that belonged to the Syrian empire on that side Mount Taurus, before they marched over it against Achæus, the operations of the ensuing campaign were concerted and ordered accordingly. Anno 219. Ptol. Philopater 3.

For the garrisons which the Egyptians had in Syria being the deepest thorn in their side, and which they were most sensible of, it was thought the best course to remove this first; and therefore at present only threatening letters were sent to Achæus, and the whole army rendezvoused at Apamea to carry the war into Cœle-Syria. But, in a council there held before the march of the army from thence, Apollophanes the king's physician, having represented, how preposterous a thing it was for him to pass into Cœle-Syria, and leave Seleucia, a place so near his capital, in the enemy's hands behind him, he drew all over to him by the reason of the thing: for this city stood upon the same river with Antioch, at the distance only of 15 miles below it, near the mouth of that river. On Ptolemy Eurgetes' having invaded Syria in the cause of Berenice his sister, which hath been above related, he seized this city; and a garrison of Egyptians having been then placed in it, they had held the place ever since now full 27 years; which was not only a constant annoyance to the Antiochians, but also intercepted their communication with the sea, and spoiled all their trade that way: for Seleucia, lying near the mouth of the river Orontes, was the sea-port to Antioch; and they suffered much by being deprived of it. All which being set forth by Apollophanes in his representation of this matter, it fully determined the king and all his council to follow the measures he proposed, and begin the campaign with the siege of Seleucia; and [x] accordingly the whole army marched thither, and invested that place, and, having carried it by a general assault, drove the Egyptians thence.

After this Antiochus hastened into Cœle-Syria, [y] being called thither by Theodotus the Ætolian, Ptolemy's governor of that province, with offer of putting the whole country into his hands. It hath been already related, how valiantly he repulsed Antiochus in his last eruption into that country. But his was not enough to please those who governed at court; they expected more from him, which they imagined was in this power to have done, and therefore called him to Alexandria to answer for it at the pearl of his head. And

[x] Polybius p. 404. & 405.

[y] Idem, p. 405. & 406.

although he were acquitted, on the hearing of his cause, and sent back to his government, yet he did not acquit them of the wrong they did him by this injurious accusation, but returned into Cœle-Syria with such resentment and indignation for this ill-usage and affront, that he resolved to be revenged for it. And, while he attended his cause at court, having observed in how vile and dissolute a manner all lived there, this augmented his indignation, he not being able to bear with any patience his being made obnoxious to so despicable a set of men; for nothing could be more lewd and abominable than the conduct of Philopater, during all the time of his reign; and his whole court was formed after his example. He is said to have poisoned his father; and he made this the more believed, that, after his decease, he openly and avowedly put to death Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother; and then thinking himself free from all control and fear of danger, he gave himself up to the vilest entertainments of lust, luxury, and bestiality, minding little else than the glutting of himself in all the pleasures which these most detestable vices could afford him. His chief minister was [z] Sosibius, a man bad enough to suit the service of such a master, and crafty enough to know and use all the means whereby best to secure his interest under him. But those that most governed him were [a] Agathocles, Agathoclea his sister, and Oenanthe their mother. The first was his pathic, the second his concubine, and the last his bawd to serve him in providing for the worst of his lusts. Agathoclea was at first a public woman and a common strumpet; but, having engaged Philopater's affection, she had an absolute ascendant over him all his life after, and his love to her was the foundation on which was built his favour to the other two. Theodotus, on his being at Alexandria, having observed all this, could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and, being a gallant man, scorned to be any longer under it; and this, with his resentments for his ill usage, put him upon a resolution of seeking for a new master, that might be more worthy of his service. And therefore, on his return to his province, having seized Tyre and Ptolemais, he declared for King Antiochus, and sent him the message I have mentioned to call him into those parts, and, on his arrival, delivered to him these two cities; whereby he

[z] Plutarch. in Cleomene. Valesii Excercepta ex Polybia. p. 64.
[a] Plutarch. ibid. Athen. lib. 13. p. 577. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1. & 2.

put him in a fair way of becoming master of all the rest of that country. Nicolas, one of Ptolemy's generals in those parts, made some opposition to him on this invasion, although not sufficient to obstruct his progress: for although he were a countryman of Theodotus,' as being an Ætolian, yet he would not join with him in this defection, but still adhered to the interest of King Ptolemy, according to his first engagements to him; and therefore as soon as Theodotus had seized Ptolemais he besieged him in it; and, on Antiochus' marching thither to raise the siege, he seized the passes of Mount Libanus against him, and defended them to the utmost; but being overborne by the superior power of Antiochus, he was forced to recede, and Antiochus had thereon Tyre and Ptolemais put into his hands by Theodotus; where having found great magazines of war which Ptolemy had in these two places prepared and laid up for his army, and also a fleet of 40 sail of ships, he seized both for his service. The ships he delivered to Diognetus, his admiral, with orders to sail to Pelusium, purposing, at the same time, to march thither by land with all his army, and invade Egypt. But being informed, that at that time of the year the bank of the Nile used to be cut, and all the country laid under water, and that therefore the invading of that realm was then impracticable, he altered his purpose, and turned all his force for the reducing of the rest of Cœle-Syria; and, having taken some places in it by surrender, and others by force, he at length made himself master of Damascus, the chief city of the province, having taken it by [b] a stratagem, with which he over-reached Dinon, who had the command of it for King Ptolemy. His last attempt in this campaign [c] was upon Dora, a maritime town near Mount Carmel, called Dor [d] in the holy scriptures: but the place being strongly situated, and well fortified and provided for by the care of Nicolas, he could make no impression upon it; and therefore was glad to accept of a proposal, which was there offered him, of making a truce with Ptolemy for four months and thereon, drawing off under the credit of it, he marched back to Seleucia on the Orontes, and there put his army into winter-quarters, leaving those places which he had taken in this year's war under the care and government of Theodotus the Ætolian.

[b] Polyænus, lib. 4. c. 15. [c] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 409.
[d] Joshua xi. 2. xvii. 11. Judges i. 27. 1 Kings iv. 11. 1 Chron. vii. 29.

During this truce, [e] a treaty was set on foot between the two contending princes, but without any other design on either side than to gain time. Ptolemy lacked it to make preparation for the ensuing war, and Antiochus to look after Achæus; for he having now manifest designs of usurping Syria from him, as well as Lesser Asia, he wanted to be at home to provide against them. In this treaty, the chief point in debate was, to whom Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judea, did belong, by virtue of the partition that was made of Alexander's empire between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, slain in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy claimed these provinces; as having been by that treaty assigned, as he said, to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus alleged, that they had in that partition been assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore he claimed them to belong to him as the heir and successor of that king in the Syrian empire.

While these pretences were alleged on both sides, and neither yielded to the other, the time of the truce wore out; and, nothing being effected by the treaty, [f] both parties again provided for the war. Nicolas the Ætolian, having given sufficient proof of his valour and fidelity in his last year's service for King Ptolemy, was this year made his generalissimo for this war, and had the whole care of his interest in the contested provinces committed to his charge; and Perigenes, his admiral, was sent with a fleet to carry on the war by sea. Nicolas, having rendezvoused his forces at Gaza, and being there furnished from Egypt with all necessary accoutrements and provisions for the war, marched directly from thence for Mount Libanus, and seized the straits which lay between that ridge of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for Antiochus to pass, resolving to expect him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his further progress that way. In the interim Antiochus was not idle; but having made all due preparations for the war, both by sea and land, committed his fleet to the command of Diognetus, his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. The fleets on both sides coasting the armies, as they marched by land, they all met at those straits where Nicolas had posted himself; and, while Antiochus there assaulted Nicolas by land, the fleets en-

Anno 218. Ptol. Philopater 4.

[e] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 409, 410, 411.
[f] Idem, lib. 5. p. 411, 412. &c

countered at sea, and the battle was begun on both sides both by sea and land at the same time, and in sight of each other. At sea the fight ended upon equal terms on both sides, neither party getting the better of the other. But at land, Antiochus having gotten the advantage, Nicolas was forced to retire to Sidon, with the loss of 4000 of his men slain and taken; and thither also Perigenes followed him with the Egyptian fleet. Antiochus pursued them thither both by sea and land, with intention to besiege the place: but finding it too strongly provided with men, and all other necessaries, as to be easily taken, he thought not fit to sit down before it; but, having sent his fleet to Tyre, he marched with his army into Galilee, and, having taken Philoteria, on the north end of the sea of Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethsan, on the south end, he marched to Attabyrium, a city situated on mount Tabor, the mountain afterwards made famous by the transfiguration of our Saviour on it, and, by a stratagem, soon made himself master of the place; and, by taking these cities, having brought all Galilee under him, he marched over the river Jordan into the land of Gilead, and took possession of all that country, which formerly had been the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, on that side of the river. After that he took Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Polybius calls it Rabbatamany (*i. e.* [s] Rabbath-Ammon.) I have shewn before, how Ptolemy Philadelphus, having rebuilt this city, called it Philadelphia. It being strong and populous, it made a vigorous resistance against Antiochus and all his army; but at length he brought them to a surrender, by stopping their water course. On his making himself master of this place, he forced all the neighbouring Arabs to submit to him. But, by this time the year being far spent, he repassed the river Jordan, and, having placed Hippolochus and Kerœus (who lately revolted to him from King Ptolemy) in the government of Samaria, with 5000 men, to keep that part of the country in quiet, he led back all the rest of his forces to Ptolemais, and there put them into winter-quarters.

As soon as the spring begun, [h] both parties again took the

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[s] So Rabbah of Ammon is written in the Hebrew language; see the Hebrew text, Deut. iii. 11. 2 Sam. xii. 26. Jer. xlix. 2.

[h] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 421, 422, &c. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

field. Ptolemy, having gotten together an army of 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 73 elephants, ordered them to rendezvous at Pelusium; where, putting himself at the head of them, as soon as all was got ready for the march, he led them over the deserts that parted Egypt and Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, a town lying between Rhinocorura and Gaza: and there Antiochus met him with an army little inferior to his; for he had 62,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants; and there he encamped, first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near to each other, many bickerings happened between parties, as they went out on each side, either for watering or forage, and many bold adventures were made by particular persons from both armies. But that of Theodotus the Ætolian was the most remarkable: for, [i] being well acquainted with the Egyptian usages, as having long served Ptolemy, till he revolted from him to Antiochus, he took the advantage of a dusky evening, when his face could not be well discerned, to enter into the enemy's camp with two companions, and, being there taken for one of them, went into Ptolemy's tent with design to have killed him, and with that one stroke to have put an end to the war. But, not finding him there, he slew his chief physician instead of him, wounded two others, and then, amidst the hurry and tumult raised heron, escaped safe back again into his own camp. At length both kings [k] drew out all their forces for a decisive battle, and both rode before the front of their respective armies, to excite and encourage their men for the fight. Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to King Ptolemy, accompanied him in this action, and not only exerted herself in the encouraging of the soldiers before the fight, but also continued with her husband in the battle throughout all the heat and dangers of it. The event of the battle was, Antiochus, commanding the right wing, routed the opposite wing of the enemy; but, pursuing them too far, in the interim, the other wing of the enemy, having beaten his left wing, fell upon the main body that left naked, and utterly broke them, before he could return to their assistance. An old officer of Antiochus' army, observing which way the cloud of dust went, concluded from thence, that the main body was routed, and shewed it to the king.

Anno 217. Ptol. Philopater 5.

[i] Idem, lib. 5. p. 423. 3 Maccab. c. 1.

[k] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 423—427. 3 Maccab. c. 1. Hieronymus, ibid. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1.

But, although he immediately returned, he came too late to recover this fault, finding all the rest of his army put to flight on his coming back to them. Hereon he was forced to retreat, first to Raphia, and next to Gaza, with the loss of 10,000 of his men slain, and 4000 taken prisoners: after which, being no more able to make head against Ptolemy in those parts, he quitted them to the conqueror, and, having gathered together the remains of his broken forces, he returned with them to Antioch. This battle at Raphia was fought at the same time that Hannibal vanquished Flaminius, the Roman consul, at the lake of Thrasimenus, in Hetruria.

On the retreat of Antiochus, [l] the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine were at a strife which of them should first yield themselves again to Ptolemy: for having been long under the government of the Egyptians, they were in their affections inclined rather to their old masters than to Antiochus. It was only by force that they had submitted to the latter; and therefore, that force being now removed, they returned again to their former bent, and Ptolemy's court was thronged with ambassadors from them to make their submissions, and offer presents unto him; among whom were ambassadors from the Jews, who were all kindly received. Ptolemy, having thus regained these provinces, made a progress through them, and, among other cities which he visited in this perambulation, [m] Jerusalem was one that had this favour from him. On his arrival thither, he took a view of the temple, and there offered up many sacrifices to the God of Israel, and made many oblations to the temple, and gave several very valuable donatives to it. But, not being content to view it only from the outer court, beyond which it was not lawful for any Gentile to pass, he would have pressed into the sanctuary itself, and into the holy of holies in the temple, where none but the high priest only, once a-year, on the great day of expiation, was to enter. This made a great uproar all over the city. The high priest informed him of the sacredness of the place, and the law of God which forbad his entrance thither. And the priests and Levites gathered together to hinder it, and all the people to deprecate it; and great lamentation was made every where among them on the apprehension of the great profanation which would hereby be offered to their holy temple, and all hands were lifted up unto God in prayer to avert it. But the king, the more he was opposed, growing the more intent to

[l] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428, 429. [m] 3 Maccab. 1.

have his will in this matter, pressed into the inner court; but, as he was passing further to go into the temple itself, he was smitten from God with such a terror and confusion of mind, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead. On this he departed from Jerusalem, filled with great wrath against the whole nation of the Jews for that which happened to him in that place, and venting many threatenings against them for it.

The high priest who withstood Ptolemy in his attempt upon the temple was [n] Simon, the son of Onias, the second of that name: for, his father dying towards the end of the former year, he succeeded him in his office; and this was the first year of his pontificate: and it was well that a wiser man was then in that office when this difficulty happened: for, during the whole time of Onias' ministration, all the affairs of the Jews were, both in church and state, very negligently and supinely managed; for he being a very weak man, and withal exceedingly covetous, minded little else but how to heap up money. [o] The Samaritans, observing this, took the advantage of it to be very vexatious to the Jews, and, out of their old enmity to them, did them many and great damages, plundering and ravaging their country, and carrying many of the inhabitants into captivity, and selling them for slaves; and this they had in some measure practised ever since the contention arose between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopater about the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, screening themselves sometimes under the one side, and sometimes under the other, according as they found they might be the most vexatious to the Jews; and, during all the time that this war lasted, the Jews suffered very much by it from both parties, as did all the rest of the inhabitants of Palestine: for Palestine, of which Judea was a part, being one of the countries in contest, while these two potent princes thus strove for it, it happened to those that dwell in it (as usually it doth to all others in this case,) that they were grinded between both; for, as sometimes the one side, and sometimes the other, were masters of the country, they were sure to be harassed by each in their turns: and this continued to be their case as long as that contest lasted, and they suffered exceedingly by it.

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[n] 3 Maccab. c. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 4. Eusebius in Chronicon. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

[o] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.

Antiochus, as soon as he was returned to Antioch, [p] sent ambassadors to Ptolemy to move for peace. That which induced him to this was, he mistrusted the fidelity of his own people, finding, on his return, both his interest and his authority much sunk by his late misfortune at Raphia; and another reason for it was, it was time for him to look after Achæus: for he having, by his victories over Attalus, made himself absolute master of all the Lesser Asia, should he be let alone to settle his authority there, Antiochus well saw it would not be long ere he must expect him in Syria, there to push for the whole empire; to prevent this, he thought it his best course to make peace with Ptolemy, least, having two such powerful enemies, one on each hand of him, to deal with at the same time, he should be crushed between them: and therefore he empowered his ambassadors to yield to Ptolemy all those provinces which were in contest between them, that is, all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. I have afore shewn, that Cœle-Syria contained that part of Syria that lay between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; and Palestine, all that country which was formerly the inheritance of the children of Israel, and that the maritime parts of both were what the Greeks called Phœnicia. All this Antiochus was willing to part with to the king of Egypt, for the obtaining of peace with him in the present juncture, choosing rather to quit his claim to all these countries, than for the sake of them to run the risk of losing all the rest. And accordingly a truce being agreed on for a year, before that was expired, a peace was made upon the terms proposed: and hereby Antiochus was left wholly at leisure to attend the recovery of Lesser Asia, and the suppressing of Achæus, which was a matter of much greater moment unto him at this time; and Ptolemy, that he might be again fully at liberty to follow his voluptuous enjoyments, was as fond of being rid of this war as the other. And therefore, as soon as the truce was concluded, after having tarried three months in those provinces to settle his affairs in them, he committed the chief command over them to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned again to Alexandria; and, on his arrival thither, immersed himself again deeper than ever in all the beastly pleasures of his former life; and, that he might not be interrupted in his enjoyment of them, he sent Sosibius, his chief minister, to Antioch, to turn the truce into a peace,

[p] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

which was accordingly done on the terms I have mentioned. And thus Ptolemy, for the sake of his lusts, contenting himself with the recovery of the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, made no other advantage of his victory at Raphia: but this did not content his people, who expected much more from it. It is certain, had he pursued that blow, he might have deprived Antiochus, not only of Palestine and Cœle-Syria, but of all the rest of his empire; and this was what the Egyptians would have had done, and were very angry when they found themselves disappointed of it by so disadvantageous a peace. The discontent which followed herefrom gave rise to those disorders in Egypt, which, the next year after, broke out into a rebellion; and thus Ptolemy, by avoiding a war abroad, caused one at home in his own kingdom.

Anno 216. Ptol. Philopater 6.

Ptolemy, on his return to Alexandria, carrying thither with him his anger against the Jews for their obstructing his entrance into their temple at Jerusalem, resolved to be revenged for it on all of that nation who were then at Alexandria. And therefore [q] he published a decree, and caused it to be engraven on a pillar erected at the gates of his palace, whereby he forbad all to enter thither that did not sacrifice to the gods which he worshipped; whereby he excluded the Jews from all access to him, either for the suing to him for justice, or the obtaining of his protection, in what case soever they should stand in need of it. And whereas the inhabitants of Alexandria were of [r] three ranks, 1*st*, The Macedonians, who were the original founders of the city, and had the first right in it; 2*dly*, The mercenary soldiers, who came thither to serve in the army; and, 3*dly*, The native Egyptians; and, by the favour of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Soter, the Jews were enrolled among [s] the first rank, and had all the privileges of original Macedonians conferred on them, Philopater resolved to deprive them of this right: and therefore, by [t] another decree, ordered that all the Jewish nation that lived in Alexandria should be degraded from the first rank, of which they had hitherto always been from the first founding of that city, and be enrolled in the third rank, among the common people of Egypt; and that all of them should come thus to be enrolled, and, at the time of their enrollment, have the

[q] 3 Maccab. c. 2.
[r] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 797.
[s] Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 2.
[t] 3 Maccab. c. 2.

mark of an ivy leaf, [u] the badge of his god Bacchus, by an hot iron impressed upon them; and that all those who should refuse to be thus enrolled, and stigmatised with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that, if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death. He would have them marked with the badge of his god Bacchus, not only in that, by his drunkenness, he had made himself a great devotee of his, but most especially in that the Ptolemies of Egypt pretended to derive [x] their pedigree from him, and therefore he himself was marked with this badge; for which reason they gave him the nickname of [y] Gallus, because the priests called Galli were so marked. So saith the author of the Greek Etymologicon: his words are [z] "Ptole-"my Philopater was called Gallus, because he was stigmatised "or marked with the leaf of an ivy, in the same manner as "the priests called Galli; for in all the Bacchanal solemnities "they were crowned with ivy." But that he might not seem an enemy to all of that nation, he ordained, that as many of them as would be initiated into the Heathen religion, and sacrifice unto his gods, should retain their former privileges, and remain still in the same rank which they were of before. But, of the many thousands of the Jewish race which then dwelt at Alexandria, there were found only 300 who accepted of this condition, and forsook their God to gain the favour of their king. The rest stood all firm to their religion, rather choosing to suffer any thing than depart in the least from it; and those of them that had riches freely parted with them to the king's officers, to get themselves excused from being thus enrolled and stigmatised; but others were forced to submit hereto. But all of them so abhorred those that apostatised from their God, to please the king on this occasion, that they thenceforth excluded them from all manner of communication with them, none of them vouchsafing after that to converse, or, on any occasion whatsoever, to have any more to do with such impious wretches; which being interpreted as done by them in opposition to the king's authority, [a] this so enraged him against them, that he took a resolution of destroying them all, that is, not only those Jews that were of Alexandria, but

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[u] 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

[x] Theophilus Antiochenus ex Satyra Historia.

[y] Εν επιθυμη χρονων, a Scaligero edita, p. 254. Chron. Alexandrin.

[z] Γαλλος ὁ Φιλοπατωρ Πτολεμαιος διὰ το φυλλα κισσα καταςιχθηι ὡς οἱ Γαλλοι, &c.

[a] 3 Maccab. c. 3.

all the other of that nation, wheresoever they lived, within his dominions, proposing first to begin with those of Egypt, and then to proceed, in the next place, against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem, and extirpate the whole nation. And therefore, in the first place, he sent out his orders to command that all the Jews, who lived any where in Egypt, should be brought in chains to Alexandria; and [b] having them accordingly thus brought thither, he shut them up in the Hippodrome (a large place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races, and other shows,) purposing there to expose them for a spectacle to be destroyed by his elephants. But, [c] when they were all met, at the day appointed to see the sight, and the elephants were brought forth ready prepared for the execution, they were disappointed of the show for that day by the king's absence; for, being late up the night before at a drunken carousal, he slept so long the next day, that the time for the show was over before he awoke; whereon it was put off to the next day following; and then the same cause made another disappointment: for another such fit of drunkenness had so drowned his thoughts, that, when called up the next morning then to see the show, he remembered nothing of it, but thought those out of their wits who spoke to him of it; which caused that the show was put off again to the third day. All this while the Jews continuing shut up in the Hippodrome, ceased not, with lifted up hands and voices, to pray unto God for their deliverance; which he accordingly vouchsafed unto them; for, on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants were brought forth, and made drunk with wine mingled with frankincense (as they had been the two days before,) that they might with the more rage execute what was intended upon those people, and were accordingly let loose upon them, instead of falling upon the Jews, they turned their rage all upon those who came to see the show, and destroyed great numbers of them; and besides, several appearances were seen in the air, which much frighted the king and all the spectators. All which manifesting the interposal of a divine power in the protection of those people, Philopater durst not any longer prosecute his rage against them, but ordered them to be all again set free; and fearing the divine vengeance upon him in their behalf, for the appeasing and diverting of it, he restored them to all their privileges, rescinding and revoking all his decrees

[b] 3 Maccab. c. 4. [c] 3 Maccab. c. 5.

which he had published against them: and he added over and above many gifts and favours unto them; among which one was, that he gave them liberty to put to death all those Jews who had apostatised from their religion; which they accordingly executed, not sparing a man of them. Josephus gives us no account, in his Antiquities, of all this matter; but there is mention of it in his second book against Apion. But it is to be observed, that we have this only in the Latin edition of Ruffinus: for the Greek text is there wanting; and also there this whole matter is said to be transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, many years after the time where I have here placed it, according to the third book of the Maccabees; for there the whole history of this persecution, and the deliverance of the Jews from it, is at large related, it being the whole subject of that book; and therein it is said to have been all transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, immediately on his return from Syria, after the victory obtained by him at the battle of Raphia; and when that battle was fought, Polybius and other authors have told us.

The name of Maccabees was first given to Judas and his brethren, for the reason which will be hereafter mentioned; and therefore the first book and the second book, which give us an account of their actions, are called the first book and the second book of the Maccabees. But, because they were sufferers in the cause of their religion, hence others who were like sufferers in the same cause, and by their sufferings bore witness to the truth, were in after times called also Maccabees by the Jews. And for this reason it is that Josephus, having written apart by itself the history of those who suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, gives it the title of the Maccabees; and for the same reason, this history of the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater against the Jews in Egypt, and their suffering under it, is called the third book of Maccabees, although, as to the subject matter of it, it ought to be called the first book; for the things which it relates were first in order of time, as being transacted before ever those Maccabees, of whom we have the history in the first and second book of the Maccabees, were at all in being. But this book being of less authority and repute than the other two, it hath, for this reason, been reckoned after them, according to the order of dignity, though it is before them in the order of time. It seems to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew, in the Greek language, not long after the time of Saracides. It is extant in Syriac; but the author of

that version seems not well to have understood the Greek original; for in some places he varies from it through manifest ignorance of the Greek language. It is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the Greek Septuagint; as particularly it is in the Alexandrian manuscript in the king's library at St. James', and in the Vatican manuscript at Rome, which are two of the ancientest manuscripts of the Septuagint now in being; but was never inserted into the vulgar Latin version of the Bible, nor is it to be found in any manuscript of it. And that version being only in use through the whole western church till the reformation, the first translations which we have of the Bible into English were made from thence; and for that reason none of those having the third book of Maccabees among the apocryphal books, it hath never since been added, though it deserves a place there much better than some parts of the second book of Maccabees; for though it comes to us in a romantic dress, with some enlargements and embellishments of a Jewish invention, yet it is not to be doubted but the ground work of it is true, and that there really was such a persecution raised against the Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Philopater as that book relates; there are accounts of other persecutions [d] they there underwent altogether as bad, which no one doubts of. The first authentic mention we have of this book is [e] in Eusebius' Chronicon. It is also named with the two other books of the Maccabees in the 85th of the apostolic canons. But when that canon was added is uncertain. Some manuscript Greek Bibles have not only this third book of the Maccabees, but also Josephus' history of the martyrs that suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes [f] inserted after it by the name of *the fourth book of the Maccabees*.

In the interim Antiochus, after the peace made with Ptolemy, turning all his thoughts to the making war against Achæus, and having made great preparations for it, [g] marched over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia for the suppressing of him; where, having joined himself in league with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of this conjunction, he so distressed Achæus, that he drove him out of the field, and shut

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[d] See Philo's book against Flaccus, and the history of his embassy to Caligula.

[e] Page 185.

[f] Vide Hoddium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, 649.

[g] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 444, 446.

him up in Sardis, and thereon, sitting down before that place, besieged him in it with his whole army.

Achæus [h] there held out above a year against him. In the interim many sallies were made, and many skirmishes were fought under the walls; till at length, in the second year of the siege, by the craft of Ligoras, one of Antiochus' commanders, the city was taken; whereon Achæus retreated into the castle, and there defended himself for some time, till at last he was, by the treacherous contrivance of two crafty Cretans, delivered into the hands of Antiochus. The manner of it was thus: [i] Ptolemy Philopater, having entered into a strict alliance with Achæus, was much concerned on his hearing of his being so closely shut up in the castle of Sardis, and therefore committed it to the care of his chief minister Sosibius, by any means possible, to get him out of this danger. There being at that time in Ptolemy's court a crafty Cretan called Bolis, who had long resided there, Sosibius consulted with him about this matter, and asked his advice for the finding out of proper means for the accomplishing of what his master desired. Bolis, asking time to consider of it at the next conference, undertook the matter, and communicated to him the way which he thought of whereby to accomplish it; for he told him that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, called Cambylus, that was captain of the Cretan mercenaries in Antiochus' army, and had then the keeping of a fortress behind the castle of Sardis; that him he would deal with to permit Achæus to make his escape that way. Sosibius, approving of the project, forthwith sent Bolis to Sardis to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to bear him through in it. Bolis having communicated the matter to Cambylus, they, like two [k] crafty knaves, consulted together how to make the most of it, agreed to discover the whole to Antiochus; and, on his promise of a suitable reward to turn the plot for the betraying of Achæus into his hands, and then divide that reward, and also the ten talents which Bolis had from Sosibius, between them. Antiochus, on his receiving of this proposal, was much pleased with it, and promised re-

Anno 226. Ptol. Philopater 7.

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[h] Idem, lib. 7. p. 506, 507.

[i] Idem, lib. 8. p. 522, 523, &c.

[k] The Cretans were always infamous for falseness and knavery. Hence St. Paul to Titus, chap. i, v. 12. *The Cretans are always liars.*

wards large enough to encourage the undertakers to go on with the plot. Bolis, by the means of Cambylus, having got into the castle, and, by virtue of his credentials from Sosibius and other friends, gained full credit with the unfortunate prince; so that he was hereby induced to put himself into the hands of these two false Cretans; they as soon as they had gotten him out of the castle, seized his person, and delivered him to Antiochus; who having caused him forthwith to be beheaded, did thereby put an end to the Asian war: for as soon as the death of Achæus was known, they that were in the castle forthwith surrendered: and, soon after, all the other places through the Asian provinces did the same: and therefore Antiochus, having received them all again under his obedience, left such governors over them as he might best confide in, and then returned again to Antioch.

About this time the discontents of the Egyptians against Philopater, which I have above mentioned, broke out into a civil war. Polybius [l] tells us, that there was such a war; but neither he nor any other author gives us any account of the event of it. But Philopater still retaining his royal dignity and power, without any diminution of either, this sufficiently proves, that he mastered this difficulty. Which side the Jews (who now made a considerable part of the bulk of the people of Egypt) took in this war is not said; but it seems most likely that they were of that party which came by the worst: for Eusebius [m] tells us, that, about this time, 40,000 of them were cut off and destroyed.

Anno 213. Ptol. Philopater 9.

Antiochus, having settled his affairs in Lesser Asia, [n] made an expedition into the East for the reducing of those provinces which had revolted from the Syrian empire; and the Parthians having lately seized Media, his first attempt was upon that province. There reigned at that time over the Parthians, Arsaces, the son of that Arsaces who first founded the Parthian empire. He, taking the advantage of Antiochus' being otherwise engaged in his wars with Ptolemy and Achæus, had entered Media, and made himself master of that country, and added it to his former dominions. On Antiochus' approach that way, he endeavoured to hinder his passage, by stopping up all the wells in the deserts through which he was to march, no army

Anno 212. Ptol. Philopater 10.

[l] Lib. 5. p. 444.
[m] In Chronico, p. 185.
[n] Polybius, lib. 10. p. 598—602. Appian. in Syracis.

being able there to be subsisted without them. But Antiochus being aware of the design, sent a party of horse before him to secure those wells; who having driven away the party that was sent to destroy them, Antiochus safely passed those desarts with all his army, and, entering Media, drove Arsaces thence; and, having recovered all that country, spent the remainder of the year in settling of it again in its former order under his dominion, and in providing for the further operations of the war.

Early the next spring, [o] he marched into Parthia; and there having obtained the same success as in Media, Arsaces was forced to retreat into Hyrcania, where, thinking to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from Parthia, he placed guards in all the passes through which the Syrian army was to march, hoping thereby to obstruct their further progress that way. Anno 211. Ptol. Philopater 11.

But Antiochus, as soon as the season would admit, took the field to drive them thence; and, [p] by dividing his army into several parties, and assaulting those guards all at the same time in their several stations, he soon made himself master of all those passes, and therefore, marching securely through them over those mountains, he descended from them with all his army into the country of Hyrcania, and there laid siege to Syringis the capital of the province; and after some time having, by undermining the walls, made a great breach in them, he took the place by storm, and all the inhabitants surrendered themselves to his mercy. In the interim Arsaces was not idle; but all the way as he retreated, having gathered forces, at length [q] made up an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, with which being strong enough to face the enemy, he made a stand against him, and with great valour opposed his further progress, which drew out the war into a great length. But after many conflicts that happened between the two armies, no further advantage being gained on the part of Antiochus, he found it would be no easy matter for him to vanquish so valiant an enemy, and wholly dispossess him of the provinces which he had so long been settled in. Anno 210. Ptol. Philopater 12.

And therefore he became [r] inclined to hearken to terms of

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[o] Polybius, lib. 10. p. 509.
[p] Polybius, lib. 10. p. 600. and 601.
[q] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.
[r] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.

Anno 208. Ptol. Philopater 14.

accommodation for the ending of so troublesome a war: and accordingly, a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that Arsaces should hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on the terms of becoming a confederate of Antiochus', and assisting him in his wars for the recovery of the other provinces which had revolted from him.

Antiochus having thus made peace with Arsaces, [s] carried the war in the next place against Euthydemus king of Bactria. It hath been above related how Theodotus first usurped Bactria from the empire of the Syrian kings, and left it to his son of the same name. Him Euthydemus, having vanquished and driven out, reigned in his stead; and being a very valiant and wise prince, he maintained a long war against Antiochus in defence of the country which he had made himself master of; and every where made good his ground against him; so that Antiochus only wasted his army in this country without gaining any advantage by it.

Anno 207. Ptol. Philopater 15.

In the interim Philopater went on in his old course of life, giving himself wholly up to his lusts and voluptuous delights. Agathoclea his concubine, and Agathocles her brother, who was his catamite, governed him absolutely. Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness, were the whole employments of his life. Sosibius being an old crafty minister, who had now served in the court under three kings, did, as far as the favourites would permit, manage the affairs of the state, in which, by his long experience, he was thoroughly versed, but was wicked enough to serve such a king, and such his favourites, in all their vilest purposes. While things were thus managed, [t] Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to Philopater, was little regarded, which she, not having patience enough to bear, spared neither her complaints nor her clamours on all occasions; which much offending the king, and also the whore and the catamite, who governed him, orders were given to Sosibius to put her to death, which he accordingly executed by the hands of one Philammon, whom he employed for the effecting of this cruel and barbarous murder. Justin [u] calls her Eurydice, and [x] Livy, Cleopatra; but according to Polybius, who writeth with the most exactness of these matters, her name was Arsinoe.

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[s] Polybius, lib. 10. p. 620.

[t] Idem, lib. 13. p. 719. Valesii Excerpta, p. 65. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1.

[u] Justin. lib. 30. c. 1. [x] Idem. lib. 27.

These things [y] very much displeasing the people, they forced Sosibius, during the lifetime of the king, to quit his office of chief minister, and called to it Tlepolemus, a young nobleman of great note in the army for his valour and military prowess and skill; and, by a general vote in the grand council, appointed him to succeed therein. And accordingly Sosibius resigned to him the king's signet, which was the badge of his office; and, by virtue thereof, Tlepolemus managed all the public affairs of the kingdom during the remainder of the king's life; but in that short time he abundantly shewed, that he was no way equal to the charge he undertook, having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor to qualify him for it. Anno 206. Ptol. Philopater 16.

In the mean while Antiochus carried on the war against Euthydemus in Bactria; [z] but, after his utmost efforts for the dispossessing him of that country, finding that he made but little progress herein, by reason of the valour and vigilancy of those he had to deal with, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from Euthydemus to treat of an accommodation. By them Euthydemus complained of the injustice of the war which Antiochus had made against him, telling him he was not of those who had revolted from him, and that therefore he had not on this account any right of war against him; that the revolt of the Bactrians from the Syrian empire had been made under the leading of others before his time; that he was possessed of that country, by having vanquished and driven out the descendents of those revolters, and held it as a just price of his victory over them. He further ordered it to be suggested to Antiochus, that the Scythians, taking the advantage of the war in which they were now wasting each other, were preparing a great army to invade Bactria; and that therefore, if they continued any longer their contention about it, a fair opportunity would be given those Barbarians, to take it from both. This consideration, added to the desire which Antiochus afore had to get rid of this tedious and troublesome war, brought him to agree to such terms as produced a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus, who took such liking to the young man, that he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and for his sake allowed the father

[y] Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, lib. 16.
[z] Polybius, lib. 11. p. 651.

to take the title and stile of King of Bactria. And then, having received from him all his elephants (which was one of the terms of the peace,) he marched over Mount Caucasus into India; where having renewed his league with Sophagasenus the king of that country, and received so many elephants from him, as when added to those which he had from Euthydemus made up their number to 150, he marched from thence into Arachosia, and from that country into Drangiana, and from thence into Carmania, settling, as he went, all those countries in due order under his obedience.

After [a] having wintered in Carmania, he returned through Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, again unto Antioch, after having been seven years absent from thence on this expedition. By the boldness of his attempts, and the wisdom of his conduct through this whole war, he gained the reputation of a very wise and valiant prince; which made his name terrible through all Europe as well as Asia; and thereby he kept all the provinces of his empire in thorough subjection to him: and thus far his actions might well have deserved the name of *the Great*, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full glory and honour to his grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a war with the Romans. Being blown up with vanity and conceit on the reputation he had gained, he thought none could now stand before him, and this made him project the conquest of Greece and Italy; but failing in the attempt, he fell low by the ill success of it, and afterwards concluded his reign in a very unfortunate death, as will be hereafter related.

Anno 205. Ptol. Philopater 17.

He had not been long returned to Antioch, ere he had an account of the death of Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt. This prince [b] having worn out a very strong body by his intemperance and debaucheries, ended his life, as it usually happens to others in this case, before he had lived out half its course. He was very little above 20 when he first came to the throne, and he sat on it only 17 years. After him succeeded [c] Ptolemy Epiphanes, his son, a child of five years old. None but Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their creatures, being about him at the time of his death, [d] they concealed it as long as they could, and,

Anno 204. Ptol. Epiphanes 1.

[a] Polybius, ibid. [b] Justin. lib. 30. c. 1. & 2.
[c] Ptol. in Canone, Eusebius, Hieronymus, alique.
[d] Justin. lib. 30. c. 2.

in the interim, plundered the palace of all the treasure and riches there left by the deceased king that they could lay their hands upon; and, at the same time, were framing projects for their continuing in the same power which they had under the deceased king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor: and, vainly imagining that they could carry this point, if Tlepolemus were out of the way, they laid a plot to have him cut off; and therefore, when the king's death was known, [c] they called together [f] the Macedonians to a general council: and, when they were met, Agathocles and Agathoclea came out to them; and Agathocles, having the young king in his arms, after much weeping, spoke to them. The effect of his speech was to implore their protection for the young king, whom, he said, his father at his death had delivered (pointing at Agathoclea) into her hands; and that, at the same time he had recommended him to the fidelity of his Macedonian subjects; and therefore he implored their aid and assistance against Tlepolemus, of whom, he told them, he had certain information, that he was preparing to seize the crown: and then he would have produced several witnesses, whom he had then present, to prove his charge. He foolishly hoped, by this weak artifice, to have stirred up the Macedonians to cut him off, and then to have established himself, upon his death, in the regency. But the folly of this contrivance being easily seen through, it at first provoked the laughter, and afterward the rage of all that heard it; and the ruin of him and his sister, and all their creatures, followed immediately after. For, on this occasion, all their misdemeanours being called to remembrance, all the people of Alexandria arose in a general uproar against them. And therefore, having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the public Hippodrome, they there brought before him, first Agathocles, and next Agathoclea, and Oenanthe their mother, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be all put to death in his presence; and then proceeded in the same manner against the sisters and kindred of Agathocles and Agathoclea, and all their other creatures, till they had cut them all off. And such reckonings wicked favourites are often brought to, when deprived of that

[c] Polybius, lib. 15. p. 712, 713.

[f] *i. e.* Those Alexandrians who were of the Macedonian race, and the descendants of those who were the first founders of Alexandri, or such as had been admitted to their privileges.

power whereby they have abused the people. The power alone in this case is apt enough to create envy, but is much more so when employed for unjust and wicked purposes: the only method to make any one safe in such stations, is to do nothing else in them but what shall be in all times justifiable. About three days before this uproar happened, [g] Philammon, who had been employed in the murdering of Arsinoe, being come from Cyrene to Alexandria, the ladies who had been of her attendance, hearing of it, took the advantage of this disorder to revenge on him the death of their mistress: for, breaking into his house, they fell upon him with stones and clubs, till they had beaten him to death, a punishment which he well deserved, by becoming the instrument of so wicked an act. After this, the guardianship of the young king was for the present committed to the charge of Sosibius, the son of that Sosibius who had been the ruling minister of the court during the last three reigns. Whether he were then living or no is not said: it is certain he lived to a very great age; his continuance for above 60 years in the ministry is a sufficient instance of it; and for this reason he was called [h] Πολυχρόνιος i. e. *the long liver*. And, no doubt, by the Sosibius who is said, in the history of Aristeas, to be one of the chief promoters of the Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures, called the Septuagint, is meant none other than this Sosibius by the writer of that apocryphal book. But whether he were brought so early upon the stage, the distance of the time gives us reason to doubt. For we have placed the making of that version in the year 277, which was 71 years before the time that he left the ministry. He was [i] as crafty and wicked a minister as ever governed the public affairs of any kingdom, not caring how wicked and vile any means were, so that they conduced, to the effecting of the ends he proposed, which is exactly that scheme of politics which Machiavel hath since, with a bare face, recommended to the world, and so many in our time have practised after him. But that which is most remarkable in this old Egyptian politician is, that he continued so long in prosperity, and was permitted at last so easily to retire, which hath scarce ever happened to any other that have acted by his principles.

Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedon,

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[g] Polybius, ibid.

[h] Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 65.

[i] Valesii Excerpta, ibid. Plutarch in Cleomene.

thinking to serve themselves of the advantage they had by the death of Philopater, and the succession of an infant king after him, [k] entered into a league to divide his dominions between them, agreeing that Philip should have Caria, Libya, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Antiochus all the rest. And accordingly Antiochus forthwith marched into Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, and partly this year, and partly in the next, made himself master of those provinces, and all the several districts and cities in them. Anno 203. Ptol. Epiphanes 2.

Scipio having beaten Hannibal in Africa, and thereby put an end to the second Punic war with victory and honour, the name of the Romans began to be every where of great note; and therefore the Egyptian court finding themselves much distressed by the league made between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, and the usurpations which had thereon been made by them on his provinces, [l] sent an embassy to Rome to pray their protection, offering them the guardianship of their king, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; and, to induce them to accept hereof, alleged that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The Romans, thinking this would enlarge their fame, complied with what was desired, and took on them the tuition of the young king, Anno 202. Ptol. Epiphanes 3.

This year being the 3560th year of the Jewish æra of the creation, [m] the writers of that nation tell us, that Joshua, the son of Perachia, was admitted president of the sanhedrim, and Nathan the Arbelite his vice-president, and that both together had the charge of being rectors of the divinity school at Jerusalem. They tell us nothing in particular of the latter; neither is what they say of the other consisting with the time in which they place him, or of any truth as to the matters related. For they tell us of him, that, when Alexander, the Asmonean king of Judea, slew the doctors of the law at Jerusalem, for telling him that he ought to be contented with the crown, and not hold that and the high priesthood together, Joshua, then escaping from his wrath, fled into Egypt, and that Jesus Christ, being his scholar, accompanied him thither.

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[k] Polybius, lib. 3. p. 159. & lib. 15. p. 707. Livius, lib. 31. Justin. lib. 30. c. 3. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

[l] Justin. lib. 30. c. 2.

[m] R. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Gantz in Zemach David. Shalsheleth Haccabbalah.

But the year of the Jewish æra above mentioned, under which they place the first entering of this Joshua on his presidentship, was 200 years before Christ's birth, and many years also before the reign of Alexander the Asmonean in Judea; but to be out 200 or 300 years in their chronology is nothing with the Jews. They are certainly the worst historians, and the worst accounters of times, that ever pretended to be either.

Anno 201. Ptol. Epiphanes 4.

The Romans, having complied with the request of the Egyptian embassy to them, which I have mentioned, [n] sent three ambassadors to Philip king of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, to let them know that they had taken on them the tuition of Ptolemy king of Egypt during his nonage; and to require them, that they therefore desist from invading the dominions of their pupil, and that otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. After they had delivered this embassy to both kings, [o] M. Emilius Lepidus, who was one of them, according to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, went to Alexandria, to take on him, in their name, the tuition of the young king; where, having regulated his affairs as well as the then circumstances of them would admit, he appointed [p] Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, to be his guardian and chief minister, and then returned again to Rome. This Aristomenes [p] was an old experienced minister of that court, who had long been conversant in all the affairs of it; and, having undertaken this charge, he managed it with great prudence and fidelity.

Anno 200. Ptol. Epiphanes 5.

The first thing that he did was to provide against the invasions of the two confederated kings: in order whereto, he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could: for which purpose he [q] sent Scopas into Ætolia, with vast sums of money, to raise as many men there as he could, they being then reputed the best soldiers of the age. This Scopas had formerly been the chief governor of that country, and was a person of great note in his time for his military skill and prowess: when the time of his ministry was expired, and he missed of being continued in it as he desired, he left Ætolia, and went into the service of the king of Egypt; and, being employed to make

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[n] Livius, lib. 31. Justin. lib. 30. c. 3.
[o] Justin. ibid. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 6.
[q] Polybius, lib. 15. p. 717. [q] Livius, lib. 31.

this levy, he brought to him from Ætolia 6000 stout men, which was a very considerable reinforcement to the army.

At this time Antiochus having passed into Lesser Asia, and there engaged himself in a war with Attalus king of Pergamus, the ministry at Alexandria took the advantage hereof to send Scopas with an army into Palestine and Cœle-Syria for the recovery of those provinces; where he managed the war with that success, that he took several cities, and reduced all Judea by force, and put a garrison into the castle at Jerusalem; and, on the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria with full honour for the victories he had obtained, and with as great riches, which he had gathered from the plunder of the country. But it soon appeared, that his successes in this campaign were mostly owing to the absence of Antiochus, and the want of that opposition thereon which otherwise would have been made against him. Anno 199. Ptol. Epiphanes 6.

For, after Antiochus [s] had, on the interposition of the Romans, desisted from his war against Attalus, and was come in person into Cœle-Syria, this soon turned the scales, and brought the victory absolutely over on the other side. For, although Scopas came again with a great army into those parts, yet being encountered by Antiochus at Paneas, near the fountains of the river Jordan, he was [t] there overthrown with a great slaughter, and forced to flee to Sidon; where being shut up with 10,000 of his men, he was there besieged by Antiochus, till at length he was forced by famine to surrender on terms of life only; and he and his men were sent thence stripped and naked. The regency at Alexandria were not wanting to do the utmost for his relief; for, on their hearing of his being besieged in Sidon, they sent three of their best generals with the best of their forces to raise the siege. But Antiochus having disposed all matters so that they could find no way to effect it, Scopas and his men were forced to submit to the dishonourable conditions I have mentioned, and to return to Alexandria, to be there provided with new clothes and new arms for future service. Anno 198. Ptol. Epiphanes 7.

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[r] Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.

[s] Livius, lib. 32.

[t] Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 77, 78. &c. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.

After this, Antiochus [u] marched to Gaza; and finding there a resistance that provoked his anger, he gave up the place, when taken, to be plundered and ravaged by his soldiers; and then, having secured the passes there against the march of any new forces out of Egypt to disturb him in his conquests, he marched back, [x] and took in Betania, Samaria, Abila, Gadera, and all the other remaining parts of Palestine and Cœle-Syria, and made himself wholly master [y] of both the countries and all the cities in them.

The Jews were at this time very much alienated in their affections from the Egyptian king: whether it were by reason of the former ill treatment of their nation by his father, or for some fresher ill usage they had received, is not said. It is most likely it was because of the ravages and robberies of Scopas, on his taking Jerusalem the former year: for he was [z] a very covetous and rapacious man, laying his hands every where on all that he could get; and therefore, on Antiochus' marching that way, [a] they willingly rendered all places unto him, and, on his coming to Jerusalem, the priests and elders went out in a solemn procession to meet him, and received him with gladness, and entertained him and all his army in their city, provided for his horses and elephants, and assisted him with their arms for the reducing of the castle, where Scopas had left a garrison. In acknowledgment hereof, Antiochus, [b] in a decree directed to Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and, in another decree published in their favour, he particularly ordained, that no [b] stranger should enter within the [c] sept of the temple; which seems to have been provided against with respect to the attempt which Philopater made to put a force upon them as to this matter, and which, I doubt not, was no small part of the reason that made them so disaffected to the Egyptian cause, contrary to their former inclinations towards it.

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[u] Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 87.

[x] Josephus, ibid.

[y] Justin. lib. 31. c. 1. Livius, lib. 33. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893.

[z] Polybius, lib. 17. p. 773.

[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.

[b] Joseph. ibid.

[c] *i. e.* Within the sept called the Chel, within which no uncircumcised person was to pass. See Lightfoot of the Temple, c. xvii.

And it is to be remarked, that Antiochus, by former favours granted by him to their brethren who were settled in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, had declared himself a friend to their nation, in such a manner as had made them much more desirous of having him for their sovereign, than the Egyptian king, who had used them ill; and therefore they gladly laid hold of this opportunity to revolt from him. For Antiochus, in his eastern expeditions, having found the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, very serviceable to him, and very steady to his interest, entertained a great opinion of their fidelity to him; and therefore, [d] on some commotions that happened in Phrygia and Lydia, by a decree directed to Zeuxis, an old commander of his, and then his lieutenant in those provinces, he ordered 2000 families of the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia to be sent thither for the suppressing of those seditions, and the keeping of those parts in quiet, commanding, that they and all that they had should be transported thither at the king's charges; and that, on their arrival thither, they should be placed in the strongest fortresses, for guards of the country, and have lands and possessions there divided out unto them for a plentiful subsistence; and that, till they should receive the fruits of those lands, they should be maintained out of the king's stores. All which was a great argument of the opinion he had of their fidelity, and of the confidence which, on the account hereof, he placed in them. And from those Jews, who were on this occasion transplanted from Babylonia into those parts, were descended most of the Jews whom we find afterwards scattered in great numbers all over the Lesser Asia, especially in the times of the first preaching of the gospel.

Antiochus having thus brought all Cœle-Syria and Palestine in subjection to him, projected the doing of the same in Lesser Asia, his grand aim being to restore the Syrian empire to the full extent in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by Seleucus Nicator the founder of it. But, to quiet the Egyptians, that they might not renew the war in Palestine and Cœle-Syria in his absence, he sent [e] Eucles of Rhodes to Alexandria with proposals of a marriage between Cleopatra his daughter and King Ptolemy, to be consummated as soon as they should be of an age fit for it, promising the restoration of those provinces, on the day of the

[d] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.
[e] Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess; which offer being accepted off, and the contract fully agreed to on these terms, the Egyptians acquiesced in Antiochus' engagements for the performance of them, and no more renewed the war upon him, but left him wholly free to pursue his other designs. This, Jerom [c] tells us, was done in the seventh year of the reign of Epiphanes.

Antiochus, therefore, having thus secured all in peace behind him, early the next spring [f] did set forward with a great fleet for the carrying on of his designs upon Lesser Asia; and at the same time, sent thither Ardyes and Mithridates, two of his sons, with a great army by land, ordering them to march to Sardis, and there tarry his coming to them. At this time, T. Quintius Flaminius, the Roman General, was in Greece, with a great army, making war with Philip king of Macedon. Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, were confederates with the Romans in this war; and Antiochus, having been in league with king Philip ever since the death of Ptolemy Philopater, was well understood to have come into those parts, to give him all the assistance he was able. Thus stood the state of affairs in those parts when Antiochus first set out on this expedition: but, he had not proceeded far in it, before they received a considerable change in two particulars, that is, in the death of Attalus king of Pergamus, and the overthrow of Philip king of Macedon by the Romans.

Anno 197. Ptol. Epiphanes 8.

For [g] Attalus, having at Thebes made an oration to the Bœotians, to persuade them to join with the Romans against Philip, spoke it with that vehemence, that his soul in a manner expiring with his voice, he swooned away, and fell down as dead in the middle of it; after this, having lain sick a while, at Thebes, he was carried to Pergamus, and there died, after having [h] lived 72 years, and reigned 44. He having left behind him four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philæterus, and Athenæus, Eumenes, the eldest of them, succeeded him in his throne, and was [i] the founder of the famous library that was

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[c] Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

[f] Livius, lib. 33.

[g] Livius, lib. 33. Polyb. Legat. 25. p. 820. Plutarch in T. Quintio Flaminio.

[h] Polybius in Excerptis Valesii, p. 102. Livius, lib. 33. Suidas in voce Ἄτταλος.

[i] Plinius, lib. 13. c. 11.

at Pergamus. His three brothers carried it with that fidelity to him, and he with that affection to them, that they seemed all of them to have one and the same interest; and continuing in this concord and unanimity all their life after, [k] they became a rare example of brotherly love to each other.

As to Philip king of Macedon, [l] he having come to a battle with the Romans at a place called Cynocephalus in Thessaly, was there overthrown, with the loss of 8000 men slain, and 5000 taken prisoners; whereon, being brought to distress, he sued for peace, which was granted him [m] barely on this consideration, that the Romans understanding that Antiochus was coming into those parts with great forces, both by sea and land, they might not have to do with two such potent and warlike princes at the same time.

In the interim, Antiochus, [n] having with his fleet sailed along the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, took in a great many of the maritime cities of those provinces and the islands adjoining; and at length coming round to Ephesus, seized that city, and there set up for his winter-quarters, spending the remainder of the year in projecting and concerting those measures which might be most proper for the accomplishing of the designs that brought him into those parts. [o] But Smyrna, Lampsacus, and other Greek cities in Asia which then enjoyed their liberties, finding his scheme was to reduce them all to be in the same subjection to him as they had formerly been to his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him, and sent to the Romans for their protection; which they readily undertook in their behalf. For, they being resolved to put a stop to Antiochus' further progress westward, as fearing to what the power of so great a king might grow, should he establish himself in those parts of Asia, according to his designs, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to oppose themselves against him; and therefore forthwith sent ambassadors to him, to require of him that he should restore to King Ptolemy all the cities of the Lesser Asia that he had taken from him; that he should quit those that had been King Philip's; and, that he should permit all the Grecian

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[k] Plutarch. περὶ Φιλαδελφίας. Excerpta Valesii ex Polybio, p. 168. Suidas in voce Ἀτταλος.

[l] Plutarch. in T. Quinto Flaminio. Livius, lib. 33.

[m] Polyb. Legat. 6. p. 792.

[n] Livius, lib. 33. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

[o] Livius, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis.

cities in those parts to enjoy their liberties, and not pass into Europe; and to declare, that, in case they had not satisfaction in all these particulars, they would make war against him.

But, before these ambassadors came to him, [p] he had caused one part of his forces to lay siege to Smyrna, and another to Lampsacus, and with the rest he passed over the Hellespont, and seized all the Thracian Chersonesus; where, finding the city Lysimachia (which lay in the neck of the isthmus leading into that chersonesus or peninsula) lying in its ruins, (it having a few years before been reduced to this condition by the Thracians,) he set himself to rebuild it, designing there to lay the foundation of a kingdom for Seleucus his second son, and subject the neighbouring country to him, and make this the prime seat for his residence. While he was busying himself in these projects, [q] the ambassadors sent to him from Rome came into Thrace, and finding him at Selymbria, a city of that country, they there had audience of him, and communicated their commission to him. On their debating with him the particulars of it, which are above mentioned, the Romans argued, how unreasonable a thing it was, that, when they had vanquished King Philip, Antiochus should reap the fruits of their victory by seizing his cities in Asia; that, they having undertaken the guardianship of King Ptolemy during his minority, it was incumbent on them to demand restitution of all those cities that were taken from him; and that, they having decreed the restoration of all the Greek cities to their liberties, it became them to see that what they had decreed should be made good; that they required his not passing into Europe, because they could not see with what intent he should make that passage, and now build Lysimachia on that side, as they found him then a-doing, than to be as a step to a further war which must light upon them. To this Antiochus answered, That, as to Ptolemy, full satisfaction would be given him, on that king's marrying his daughter, which was then agreed on; that, as to the Greek cities, he intended them their freedom; but that they should owe it to him, and not to the Romans; that, as to Lysimachia, he built it to be a residence for his son Seleucus; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, as a part of it, belonged all to him, as having been conquered by Seleucus

Anno 196. Ptol. Epiphanes 9.

[p] Livius & Appianus, ibid.

[q] Polybius, lib. 17. p. 769. & Legat. 10. p. 800. Livius & Appianus, ibid.

Nicator his ancestor, on his vanquishing of Lysimachus, and therefore he passed over into it as his just inheritance. As to Asia, and the cities in it, he told them, that they had no more to do there than he had in Italy, and that, since he meddled not with any affairs of the latter, he wondered that they concerned themselves with what was done in the former. Hereon the Romans having desired, that the ambassadors from Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, and they, on their being admitted, having spoken very freely as to their cause, Antiochus could not bear it, but fell into a passion, and cried out, That the Romans were not to be his judges in these matters; whereon the assembly broke up in confusion, and no satisfaction was given on either side, but all things tended towards a breach between them.

While these matters were thus treating of, there came [r] a rumour that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead in Egypt, whereon Antiochus, reckoning Egypt to be his own, made haste on board his fleet to sail thither to take possession of it, and, having left Seleucus his son with his army at Lysimachia, to finish what was there intended, he first called in at Ephesus, and, having joined to his fleet such other ships as he had in that port, from thence made all the sail he could for Egypt: but, on his arrival at Pateræ in Lycia, finding the report of Ptolemy's death to be there, upon good evidence, contradicted, instead of steering for Egypt, he shaped his course directly for Cyprus, purposing to seize that island; but, in his way thither, meeting with a violent storm, in which he lost a great many of his ships and men, he was glad, after having gathered up the remainders of this ruinous wreck, to put in at Seleucia to repair his shattered ships, and then wintered at Antioch, without doing any thing more this year.

That which occasioned the rumour of Ptolemy's death was a treasonable plot then laid against his life: which, being first supposed, was afterwards reported to have taken effect. Scopas the Ætolian was the author of this conspiracy, [s] who being general of the mercenaries, most of which were Ætolians, and, by virtue of that command, having under him a numerous and strong band of veteran soldiers, thought he had hereby an advantage now in the infancy of the king to make himself master of Egypt, and usurp the sovereignty over it. And accordingly he had formed his scheme for the attempt,

[r] Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 33.
[s] Polybius, lib. 17. p. 771, 772. Valesii Excerpta, p. 61.

and no doubt he would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution as he first contrived it. But, although he were a very valiant man, yet, when it came to the point of execution, his heart failing him, and, instead of immediately falling on, as such a desperate case required, he sat at home consulting and debating with his friends and partizans how best to manage the matter; and, while he was thus doubting and delaying, the opportunity was lost. For Aristomenes, the chief minister, having in the interim gotten information of the whole matter, took such care to prevent it, that Scopas was seized, and, being brought before the council, was there convicted of the treason, and thereon he and all his accomplices were put to death for it: and, as to the rest of his Ætolians, they having, on this occasion, forfeited the confidence which the government had before in them, were most of them hereon cashiered out of the king's service, and sent home into their own country. Thus ended the treason of Scopas: and he is not the only villain that, having with great resolution entered on wicked designs, hath failed of courage at the time of execution, and defeated his own treason for want of it: for few men are so entirely wicked, as to be thorough proof against that horror and confusion of mind which very wicked actions usually create whenever they come to be executed. At his death, he was found to be possessed of vast riches, which he had gotten in the king's service by plundering those countries where he commanded as general; and he having, while he was victorious in Palestine, recovered Judea and Jerusalem to the king of Egypt, no doubt, a great part of his plunder was gotten from thence. One of the chiefest of his accomplices in this treason was Dicærchus, [t] who had formerly been admiral under Philip, king of Macedon; and, being sent by him to make war upon the Cyclades, on a very unjust and wicked account, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to Iniquity, and the other to Impiety, and sacrificed on them both. And do not all else do the same, who engage in such horrid designs of assassination and treason as that was in which this man perished? He having so signally distinguished himself by his wickedness, Aristomenes very justly distinguished him from all the rest of the conspirators in

[t] Polybius, lib. 17. p. 772.

his punishment; for all the others he poisoned, but him he tormented to death.

When this conspiracy was fully mastered, [u] the king, being now 14 years old, was, according to the usage of that country, declared to be out of his minority, and his inthronization (which the Alexandrians called his Anaclaterica (was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity; and hereby the government was put into his hands, and he actually admitted to the administration of it. And, as long as he managed it by Aristomenes, his former minister; all things went well; but, when he grew weary of that able and faithful servant, and put him to death to get rid of him, the remainder of his reign was all turned into disorder and confusion, and his kingdom suffered the same or rather more by it than in the worst times of his father.

Early the next spring, Antiochus set out from Antioch to return to Ephesus. He was no sonner gone, [x] but Hannibal came thither to put himself under his protection. He had lived six years quietly at Carthage since the late peace with the Romans; but being now under a suspicion of holding secret correspondence with Antiochus, and plotting with him for the bringing of a new war upon Italy, and some that maligned him at home having sent to Rome clandestine informations to this effect, the Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage to make inquiry into the matter, and to demand Hannibal to be delivered to them, if they found reason for it. Hannibal, hearing of their arrival, suspected their business; and therefore, before they had time to deliver their message, got privately away to the sea shore, and putting himself on board a ship which he had there ready provided, escaped to Tyre, and from thence went to Antioch, hoping to find Antiochus there; but, he being gone for Ephesus before his arrival, he made thither after him. Antiochus was there at that time, in debate with himself on the point of making war with the Romans, being very doubtful and fluctuating in his mind whether he should enter on it or no. But Hannibal's coming to him soon determined his resolutions for the war, he being hereon excited to it, not only by the arguments which this great adversary of the Romans pressed upon him for it, but

Anno 195. Ptol. Epiphanes 10.

[u] Polybius, lib. 17. p. 773.

[x] Corn. Nepos in Hannibale. Livius, lib. 33. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. c. 2, & 3.

especially because of the opinion he had of the man. For he having often vanquished the Romans, and thereby justly acquired the reputation of having exceeded all other generals in military skill, this created in Antiochus a confidence of being able to do all things with him on his side. And, therefore, thinking of nothing thenceforth but of victories and conquests, he became fixed for the war; and all this year and the next were spent in making preparations for it. In the mean time, however, ambassadors were sent from both sides, on pretence of accommodating matters, but, in reality, only to spy out and discover what each other was a-doing.

This year Simon, the high priest of the Jews being dead, [y] his eldest son Onias, the third of that name, succeeded in his stead, and held that office, reckoning it to the time of his death, 24 years. He had the character of a very worthy good man, but, falling into ill times, he perished in them, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

About this time died [z] Eratosthenes, the second library keeper at Alexandria, being 82 years old at the time of his death, and was [a] succeeded in his office by Apollonius Rhodius, the author of the Argonautics. This Apollonius had been a scholar of Callimachus; but having afterwards very much offended him, [b] Callimachus wrote a very bitter invective against him, which he called Ibis, from the name of a bird in Egypt, which used to foul his bill by cleansing his breech, intimating thereby, as if the offence given him by his scholar was by foul words against him, and that he therefore gave him this name, to express thereby that he was a foul mouthed person. Hence Ovia, writing an invective against one that had in a like manner offended him, calls him, in imitation of Callimachus, by the same name of Ibis. Although this Apollonius was called Rhodius, [c] it was only for that he had long lived at Rhodes, not that he was born there: for he was a native of Alexandria, and there at length he ended his days, being called thither from Rhodes to take upon him this office in the king's library.

Anno 194. Ptol. Epiphanes 11.

Antiochus being eagerly set in his mind for a war with the

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[y] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Chron. Alexandrin.

[z] Lucianus in Macrobiis.

[a] Suidas in Ἀπολλώνιος.

[b] Suidas in Καλλίμαχος.

[c] Anonymus Vitæ Apollonii Rhodii Scriptor.

Romans after having made the preparations I have mentioned, he endeavoured further to strengthen himself, by making alliances with the neighbouring princes. To this intent he [d] went to Raphia, the place in the confines of Palestine and Egypt which hath been above mentioned, and there married his daughter Cleopatra to King Ptolemy Epiphanes, agreeing to give with her, by way of dowry, the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, [e] upon the terms of sharing the revenues equally between them, according as had been before promised. And, on his return from thence to Antioch, he [f] married Antiochis, another of his daughters, to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and [g] would have given a third to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But that king refused his alliance, contrary to the opinion of his three brothers: for they thought it would be a great strengthening of his interest to be son-in-law to so great a king, and therefore advised him to it. But Eumenes, soon convinced them, by the reasons which he gave for the refusal, that he had much better considered the matter: for he told them, that, if he married Antiochus' daughter, he should be obliged thereby to engage with him in his war against the Romans, which he saw he was at that time entering on; and then, if the Romans were conquerors, as he had reason to think they would, he must partake of the misfortunes of the conquered, and be undone by it: and, on the other hand, if Antiochus should have the better, he should have no other advantage by it, but under the notion of being his son-in-law the easier to become his slave; for, whenever he should gain the upper hand in the war, all Asia must truckle to him, and every prince therein become his homager: that much better terms were to be expected from the Romans, and that therefore he would stick to them: and the event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice.

Anno 193. Ptol. Epiphanes 12.

After these marriages were over, Antiochus hastened again into Lesser Asia, and [h] came to Ephesus in the depth of the winter. From thence, in the beginning of the spring, he marched against the Pisidians, who stood out against him. But he had not long been

Anno 192. Ptol. Epiphanes 13.

[d] Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. Livius, lib. 35. Appian. in Syriacis.
[e] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3. [f] Appianus in Syriacis.
[g] Appianus, ibid. Polyb. Legat. 25. p. 829. Livius, lib. 37.
[h] Livius, lib. 35.

engaged in this war, [j] ere he had the news of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. This brought him back again to Ephesus, there to mourn for this loss; and a great show of sorrow was there made by him on this account. But it was commonly said, that it was all show only; that, [k] in reality, he himself procured his son's death, and made him fall a sacrifice to his jealousy: for he was a prince of great hopes, and had given such proofs of his wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he became the idol of all that knew him. This, they say, made the old king jealous of him; and therefore, on his last arrival at Ephesus, having sent him back into Syria, on pretence that he might here take care of the eastern provinces, caused poison to be there given him by some of the eunuchs of the court, and so did rid himself of him. But scarce any prince hath died an untimely death, whose life was desirable, but suspicions have been raised, and rumours spread about of poison, or some other violence, for the cause of it; and perchance such a bare suspicion was all that was in this case.

As soon as the solemnity of this mourning was somewhat over, and Antiochus began again to betake himself to business, great [l] consultation was had between him and those of his council about his passing into Greece, and there beginning the war which he had resolved on with the Romans. Hannibal, who was for making Italy, and not Greece, the seat of the war, was not called to any of these councils: for, being then under suspicion with Antiochus, he had no more of his confidence. This was effected by the craft of Publius Villius, who thereby over-reached the craftiest and the most cautious of men: [m] for this Villius, being ambassador from the Romans to Antiochus, took all opportunities to converse with Hannibal. This had the effect he intended, which was to bring him into suspicion with Antiochus; and hereon his counsel being no more regarded, Greece was made the seat of the war, and not Italy, as he advised. This saved Italy from having Hannibal again with another war in its bowels, which might have been as dangerous to the Roman state as when he was there in the former war.

But that which pinned down his resolution for the begin-

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[j] Livius, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. [k] Livius, lib. 35.
[l] Livius, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. c. 4.
[m] Julii Frontini Stratagem. lib. 1. c. 8. Livius, lib 34, & 35. Justin. & Appianus, ibid.

ning of the war in Greece, was an embassy from the Ætolians to invite him thither. The Ætolians, from being late confederates of the Romans, being now, on some disgust, become their enemies, [n] sent this embassy to Antiochus, to draw him into Greece against them; not only promising him the assistance of all their forces, but also giving him assurances, that he might depend on the joining of Philip king of Macedonia, Nabas king of Lacedemonia, and other of the Grecian principalities and states with him; who having conceived, as they told him, great enmity against the Romans, waited only his coming to declare against them. Thoas, who was at the head of this embassy, pressed all this upon him with great earnestness, telling him, that the Romans, being got home with their army, had left Greece empty; that now was the time for him to take possession of it; that, if he laid hold of this opportunity, he would find all things, as it were, prepared for the putting of the whole country into his hands; and that he had nothing more to do, but to come over thither, to make himself master of it. Which representation prevailed so far with him, that he immediately passed over into Greece, and thereby rashly precipitated himself into a war with the Romans, without duly concerting the measures proper for such an undertaking, or carrying a sufficient number of men with him to support it. For he left Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities in Asia, behind him unreduced; and his forces that were coming to him from Syria and the eastern countries having not yet reached him, he passed over, with no more than 10,000 foot, and 500 horse, which were scarce enough to take possession of the country, were it wholly naked, and he to have no war with the Romans in it. With these forces he arrived in the island of Eubœa about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to Demetrias, a town in Thessaly, where he called all his officers and chief commanders of his army together, [o] to consult with them about the future operations of the war: and Hannibal, being again restored to the king's favour and confidence, had his place among them: and being asked his opinion, in the first place, he insisted on what he had often declared, that the Romans were not to be overcome but in Italy; and that therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there. But, since other measures had been

[n] Justin, lib. 30. c. 4. & lib. 32. c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 3. p. 159. Livius, lib. 36.

[o] Livius, lib. 36. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. c. 5, & 6.

taken, and the king was then in Greece, there to begin the war, his advice in the present state of affairs was, that the king should immediately send for all his other forces out of Asia, without depending any longer either on the Ætolians or other Grecian confederates, who, he foresaw, would deceive him; and that, as soon as they were arrived, he should march with them towards those coasts of Greece that were over against Italy, and there have his fleet with him on the same coasts; one half of which, he advised, should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts of Italy, and the other half kept in some port near him, to make a shew of his passing over, and accordingly to be ready to pass over for the taking of all such advantages as occasions might offer. This, he said, would keep the Romans at home to defend their own coasts, and would be the properest method which could then be taken of carrying the war into Italy, where alone (he persisted) the Romans could be conquered. And this was the best which could then be given Antiochus. But he followed it only in that particular which related to the fetching over his forces out of Asia: for he immediately sent to Polyxenidas, his admiral, to transport them into Greece. But as to all other particulars, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from hearkening to them. They blew him up into a conceit, that victory was certain on his side; that, if he made his way to it by the methods which Hannibal had advised, then he, as the adviser and director, would have the glory of it, which the king ought to reserve wholly to himself; and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkening any more to that Carthaginian. After this [p] the king went to Lamia; and there being invested with the chief command of the Ætolians, and having received thereon the applause and acclamations of that people, he returned to Eubœa, and, having made himself master of Chalcis in that island, there took up his winter-quarters for the ensuing winter. In the interim Eumenes, king of Pergamus, sent Attalus his brother to Rome, to acquaint the senate of Antiochus' passage into Greece; whereon they immediately prepared for the war, and sent Acilius Glabrio, their consul, into Greece, with an army for the managing of it.

Antiochus, while he lay in his winter-quarters, [q] fell in

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[p] Livius, lib. 35.

[q] Livius, lib. 36. Appianus in Syriacis. Athenæus, lib. 10. c. 12. Excerpta Valesii, p. 197, & 609. Plutarchus in Philopœmene.

love with the daughter of his host, in whose house he lodged; and, although now past 50, was so desperately enamoured of this young girl, who was under 20, that nothing could satisfy him, but he must marry her: and thereon he spent the remaining part of the winter in nuptial feastings and in love dalliances with his new bride, instead of making those preparations which were necessary for the carrying on of that dangerous war he was then engaged in; which created a great loose and thorough relaxation of discipline in all else about him, till at length he [r] was roused up by the news, that Acilius the Roman consul was on a full march into Thessaly against him. All that he could do, on this alarm, [r] was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for more forces; for Polyxenidas having not been able to transport his Asian forces, by reason of contrary winds and ill weather, he had no other forces then with him but those whom he first brought over. But, before any of the Ætolians could come to him, [r] Cato, one of the Roman generals then with the consul, having with a strong detachment gotten over the mountains, by the same path in which Xerxes, and after him Brennus, had formerly forced a passage over them, his men, seeing themselves hereby ready to be encompassed, threw down their arms and fled; whereon, being pursued by the Romans, they were all cut in pieces, excepting only 500, with whom Antiochus made his escape to Chalcis. On his arrival thither, he made all the haste he could from thence to his fleet, and, having gotten on board it with this poor remainder of his forces, passed over to Ephesus, carrying with him his new married wife; and there thinking himself safe from the Romans, neglected every thing that might make him so, and again relapsed into his former dotage on that woman, indulging himself in it to a total neglect of all his affairs, till at length [s] Hannibal roused him out of it, by laying before him his danger, and representing to him what was necessary for him forthwith to do, for the securing of himself from it. Hereon he sent to hasten the march of those forces from the eastern provinces which were not yet arrived; and, having fitted out his fleet, sailed with it to the Thracian Chersonesus; and, having there reinforced Lysimachia, and

Anno 191. Ptol. Epiphanes 14.

[r] Plutarch. in M. Catone. Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. Athenæus, lib. 10. c. 12. Frontin. Stratagem, lib. 2. c. 4. Tullius de Senectute.

[s] Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36.

further fortified and strengthened Sestus and Abydus, and all other places thereabout, for the hindering of the Romans from passing the Hellespont into Asia, he returned again to Ephesus, where, in a grand council, it being resolved to try their fortune by sea, [t] Polyxenidas, Antiochus' admiral, was ordered out with the fleet to fight C. Livius, the Roman admiral, then newly come into the Egean sea. Near Mount Corycus, in Ionia, both fleets meeting, a sharp fight ensued between them, wherein Polyxenidas being beaten, with the loss of 10 ships sunk and 13 taken, was forced to retire with the remainder to Ephesus; and the Romans, putting in at Canæ, a port in Æolis, did there set up their fleet, for the ensuing winter, fortifying the place where they drew it to land with a ditch and rampart.

In the interim Antiochus was at Magnesia, busying himself in drawing together his land army. On [u] his hearing of this defeat of his fleet at Corycus, he hastened to the sea-coasts, and applied himself with his utmost care to repair the loss, and set out a new fleet that might keep the mastery of those seas. In order whereto, he refitted those ships that had escaped from the late defeat, added others to them, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring from thence the Syrian and Phœnician fleets for their reinforcement: and then having ordered Seleucus his son, with one part of the army, into Æolis, to watch the Roman fleet, and keep all there in subjection to him, he with the rest took up his quarters in Phrygia for the ensuing winter.

Anno 197. Ptol. Epiphanes 15.

The next year the [x] Romans sent Lucius Scipio, their consul, and Scipio Africanus, his brother, as his lieutenant, to carry on the war against Antiochus by land, in the place of Acilius Glabrio, and L. Emilius Rhegellus to command their fleet at sea, in the place of C. Livius.

In the beginning of the year, [y] Polyxenidas, Antiochus' admiral, having by a stratagem over-reached Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet that was sent to the assistance of the Romans, surprised him in the port of Samos, and there destroyed 29 of his ships, and him with them. But the Rhodians, instead of being discouraged by this loss, were enraged for the revenging of it; and immediately set out ano-

[t] Livius & Appianus, ibid.
[u] Livius, lib. 36, & 37. Appianus in Syriacis.
[x] Livius, lib. 37. Appianus in Syriacis.
[y] Livius & Appianus, ibid.

their fleet more powerful than the former; with which, in conjunction with Emilius the Roman admiral, they sailed to [z] Elea, and there relieved Eumenes king of Pergamus, when almost swallowed up by Antiochus; and afterwards, being sent to meet Hannibal, on his coming with the Syrian and Phœnician fleet to the king, [a] they alone encountered him on the coasts of Pamphylia, and, by the goodness of their ships, and the skilfulness of their mariners, overthrew that great warrior, and, having driven him into port, there pent him up, so that he could stir no further for the assistance of the king.

Antiochus hearing of this defeat, and, at the same time, having received an account, that the Roman consul was with a great army on his full march through Macedonia, in order to pass the Hellespont into Asia, [b] he could think of no better course for the hindering of his passage, and the keeping of the war out of Asia, than to recover again the mastery of the seas, which he had in a great measure lost by the two late defeats: for then he might have his fleets at leisure, and in full power, to cut of all possibility of passing an army into Asia, either by the Hellespont or any other way. And therefore, resolving to attempt this at the hazard of another battle, he came to Ephesus, where his fleet lay, and having there, on a review, put it into the best posture he was able, and furnished his marines with all things necessary for another encounter, he sent them forth, under the command of Polyxenidas his admiral, to fight the enemy. And they having met [c] Emilius, with the Roman fleet, near Myonnesus, a maritime town in Ionia, they there fell upon him, but with no better success than in the former engagements: for Emilius having gained an entire victory, Polyxenidas was forced to flee back again to Ephesus, with the loss of 29 of his ships sunk, and 13 taken. This did put Antiochus into such a consternation, that, being frighted as it were out of his wits, he very absurdly sent to recal all his forces out of Lysimachia, and the other towns on the Hellespont, for fear lest they should fall into the enemies' hands, who were approaching those parts to pass into Asia;

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[z] Elea was the sea-port to Pergamus, and but at a short distance from it.

[a] Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis. Corn. Nepos in Hannibale.

[b] Polyb. Legat. 22. p. 812. Livius, lib. 37.

[c] Livius, ibid. Appianis in Syriacis.

whereas the only way left him to have hindered that passage was to have continued them there. But he did not only thus absurdly withdraw them from thence, when he most needed them there, but did it with such precipitation, that he left all the provisions which he had laid up there for the war behind him; so that, when the Romans came thither, they found all necessaries for their army in such plenty stored up in those places, as if they had been of purpose provided for them, and the passage of the Hellespont left so free to them, that they transported their army over it without any opposition, where only, with the best advantage, opposition could have been made against them. When [d] Antiochus heard of the Romans being in Asia, he began to grow diffident of his cause, and would gladly have got rid of the war with them, which he had so rashly run himself into; and therefore sent ambassadors to the two Scipios to desire peace; and, to make his way the easier to it, he restored to Scipio Africanus his son (who had been taken prisoner in this war) without ransom. But, notwithstanding this, being able on no other terms to obtain peace, than on the quitting of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, and paying the Romans all the expences of the war, he thought he could suffer nothing by the war more grievous than such a peace, and therefore [e] prepared to decide the matter by battle; and the Romans did the same. Antiochus' army, according to Livy, consisted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 54 elephants; whereas all the Roman forces amounted to no more than 30,000. Both armies met near Magnesia, under Mount Sipilus: and there it came to a decisive stroke between them; in which Antiochus receiving a total overthrow, lost 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse slain upon the field of battle, 1400 more taken prisoners; and he himself difficultly escaped to Sardis, gathering up in his way such of his forces as survived this terrible slaughter. From Sardis he passed to Celænæ in Phrygia, where he heard his son Seleucus had escaped from the battle; and, having there joined him, made all the haste he could over Mount Taurus into Syria. Hannibal and Scipio Africanus were both absent from this battle, the former being with the Syrian fleet pent up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians, and the other detained by sickness at Elea. As soon as Antiochus was arrived at Antioch,

[d] Polyb. Legat. 23. p. 813. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. c. 7. Livius, lib. 37.

[e] Livius & Appian. ibid.

[f] he sent from thence Antipater his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia under him, to desire peace of the Romans. They found the consul at Sardis; and there Scipio Africanus, who was now recovered from his sickness, being come, they first applied themselves to him, and he introduced them to the consul his brother: whereon a council being held on the subject of their embassy, after full consultation therein had about it, the ambassadors were called in, and Scipio Africanus, delivering the sense of the council, told them, that as the Romans used not to sink low when vanquished, so neither would they carry themselves too high when conquerors; and that therefore they would require no other terms of peace after the battle, than those which were demanded before it; that is, That Antiochus should pay the whole expences of the war, and quit all Asia on that side Mount Taurus; which being then accepted of, and the expences of the war estimated at 15,000 talents [g]

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[f] Polyb. Legat. 24. p. 818. Livius, lib. 37. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. c. 8. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 9. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

[g] Herodotus, lib. 3. speaking of a Babylonic talent, saith, that it contained 70 Euboic minæ. Ælian, speaking of the same Babylonic talent, (Hist. Var. lib. 1. c. 22.) saith, it contained 72 Attic minæ: from hence it follows, that 72 Attic minæ are equal to 70 Euboic minæ; and 60 of each making a talent, this shews the difference that is between an Euboic talent and an Attic. But there were two other sorts of Euboic talents, or authors give us disagreeing accounts concerning it. Festus saith, "Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septem millium, nostro quatuor millium denariorum (in voce Euboicum)" *i. e.* an Euboic talent consists in Greek money of 7000 drachms, and in our Latin money of 4000 Roman pennies. But here is a manifest error in the copy, as all agree, instead of 4000, it ought to be 7000 Roman pennies: for, according to Festus, a drachm and a Roman penny were equal. For, in the word *talentum*, he saith, that an Attic talent (which consisted of 6000 drachms) contained 6000 Roman pennies. According to Festus, therefore, a Roman penny and an Attic drachm were equal: and 7000 of these made Festus' Euboic talent. But the Euboic talent, by which Antiochus was to pay this sum of 15,000 talents to the Romans, was much higher. For Polybius tells us, (Legat. 24. p 817.) and so also doth Livy, (lib. 37, & 38.) that they were to contain each 80 libræ or Roman pounds. But every libra, or Roman pound, containing 96 Roman pennies, 80 of those libræ must contain

of Eubœa, it was agreed that it should be paid in manner following, that is to say, 500 talents present, 2500 when the senate should ratify what was then agreed, and the rest in 12 years time, at the rate of 1000 talents in each of those years. And L. Cotta was sent from the consul with the ambassadors to Rome, to acquaint the senate of the agreement, and there fully conclude and ratify the same. And, a little after, the 500 talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, and hostages were given for the payment of the rest, and the performance of all other articles that were agreed on; among whom, one was Antiochus, one of the king's sons, who afterwards reigned in Syria, by the name of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, who were the chief incentors of this war, were also demanded of the Romans to be delivered up unto them on the making of the peace. But as soon as they heard that a treaty was entered on, foreseeing what would be the result of it, they both took care to get out of the way before it came to a conclusion.

The [h] next year, Cn. Manlius Vulso, who succeeded L.

7680 Roman pennies, *i. e.* 240l. of our money. But here it is to be observed, that, in the treaty of this peace made with Antiochus, there is a difference between Polybius and Livy in the copies which they give us of it. For, although Livy, as well as Polybius, doth, in the protocal of the treaty, (lib. 37.) say, that the 15,000 talents to be paid the Romans were to be Euboic talents; yet, Livy in the treaty itself, saith, they were to be Attic talents. But here Livy writing from Polybius, is mistaken in the version he made of this treaty from the Greek copy of it, which he found in him. For, whereas in Polybius the words are, that the money to be paid the Romans, should be Ἀργυρίου Ἀττικοῦ ἀρχαίου, Livy, mistaking the meaning of the Greek phrase, rendered it of Attic talents; whereas, what is there said, is meant only of the Attic standard. For, as the Euboic talent was of the greatest weight, so the Attic money was of the finest silver of any in Greece; and by the treaty, the money was to be paid according to both; that is, the Romans having conquered Antiochus, not only obliged him to pay this vast sum for this peace, but also made him pay it in talents of the highest weight, and in silver of the best and finest standard in all Greece. So that, the Romans might in this case say the same to him, as formerly Brennus did to them; *Væ victis, i. e.* Woe be to the conquered.

[h] Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis.

Scipio in the consulship, coming into Asia to succeed him in that province, Scipio delivered to him the army, and with Scipio Africanus his brother returned to Rome, where the peace which they made with Antiochus being ratified and confirmed, and all Asia on this side Mount Taurus delivered into the hands of the Romans, [i] they restored the Grecian cities to their liberties, gratified the Rhodians with the provinces of Caria and Lycia, and gave all the rest of it, that had before belonged to Antiochus, to Eumenes king of Pergamus. For Eumenes and the Rhodians having been their confederates through this whole war, and much assisted them in it, they had these countries given them for the reward of their service.

Anno 206. Ptol. Epiphanes 16.

Manlius, after the time of his consulship was out, being continued still in the same province, [k] as proconsul, he there waged war against the Gauls who had planted themselves in Asia; and, having subdued them in several battles, and reduced them to live orderly within the limits assigned them, he thereby delivered all that country from the terror of those barbarous people, who lived mostly hitherto by harassing and plundering their neighbours; and so quieted all things in those parts, that thenceforth the empire of the Romans became thoroughly settled in all that country, as far as the river Halys on the one side, and Mount Taurus on the other; and the Syrian kings became thenceforth utterly excluded from having any thing more to do in all the Lesser Asia. Whereon Antiochus is said to have expressed himself; [l] That he was much beholden to the Romans, in that they had thereby eased him of the great care and trouble which the governing of so large a country must have cost him.

Anno 188. Ptol. Epiphanes 17.

Antiochus being at great difficulties how to raise the money which he was to pay the Romans, he marched into the eastern provinces, [m] to gather the tribute of those countries to enable him to it, leaving his son Seleucus (whom he had declared his successor) to

Anno 187. Ptol. Epiphanes 18.

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[i] Livius, lib. 37, & 38. Polyb. Legat. p. 818, 819, &c. & p. 845. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 10. Appian. ibid.

[k] Livius, lib. 38.

[l] Cicero pro Deiotaro Rege. Val. Maximus, lib. 4. c. 1.

[m] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 292, & 298. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis. Justin. lib. 32. c. 2. Strabo, lib. 26. p. 744.

govern in Syria during his absence. On his coming into the province of Elymais, hearing that there was a great treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus in that country, he seized the temple by night, and spoiled it of the riches that were laid up in it; whereon the people of the country rising upon him for the revenging of this sacrilege, slew him and all that were with him. So Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Strabo, and Jerom, relate the manner of his death; but [n] Aurelius Victor tells us, that he was slain by some of his own followers, whom he did beat in a drunken fit while at one of his carousals.

He was a prince of a laudable character for humanity, clemency and beneficence, and of great justice in the administration of his government; and, till the 50th year of his life, managed all his affairs with that valour, prudence, and application as made him to prosper in all his undertakings; which deservedly gained him the title of *the Great*. But after that age, declining in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in the vigour of his application, every thing that he did afterwards lessened him as fast as all his actions had aggrandized him before, till at length, being vanquished by the Romans, he was driven out of the best part of his dominions, and forced to submit to very hard and disgraceful terms of peace; and at last, ending his life in a very ill and impious attempt, he went out in a stink like the snuff of a candle.

The prophecies of Daniel, chap. xi. from the 10th verse to the 19th inclusive, refer to the actions of this king, and were all fulfilled by them. What we find foretold in the 10th verse, was exactly accomplished in the war which Antiochus made upon Ptolemy Philopater, for the conquering of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as it is above related, annis 221, 220, 219, and 218. In the 11th and 12th verses are foretold the expedition which Philopater made into Palestine against Antiochus, anno 217, and the victory which he then got over him at Raphia. For there, *the great multitude*, that is, the great army which Antiochus brought thither against him, *was given into his hands;* and Ptolemy *did cast down*, that is, slew, *many thousands of them*, and dissipated and put to flight all the rest; and yet, the same prophecy tells us, that notwithstanding, all this, *he should be strengthened by it;* and so it happened. For Ptolemy being wholly given up to luxury, sloth, and voluptuousness, made haste back again into Egypt, there to enjoy his fill of them after this victory, without taking the advantages

[n] De Viris Illustribus, c. 54.

which it gave him. By which ill conduct he stirred up some of his people to sedition and rebellion, and weakened himself in the affection and esteem of all the rest, as is above related under the years 216 and 215. What follows, to the end of the 17th verse, foretells the renewal of that war by Antiochus *after certain years*; that is, anno 203, 14 years after the ending of the former war; when, on the death of Philopater, and the succeeding of his infant son Ptolemy Epiphanes in his stead, Antiochus *king of the North, returned and came again* into Cœle-Syria and Palestine, for the recovering of those provinces, bringing with him *a greater multitude than in the former war*, that is, that *great army* which he brought with him out of the East on his late return from thence. What is said in the 14th verse, that *in those times* (that is, in the first years of the reign of Epiphanes the king of the South) *many should stand up against him*, was fully verified by the leaguing of the kings of Macedon and Syria together against him, to seize all his dominions, and divide them between them; by the sedition of Agathocles, Agathoclea, and Tlepolemus, to invade his royal power, and by the conspiracy of Scopas utterly to extinguish it, and seize the kingdom for himself; all which are above related to have happened in these times. And the same prophecy tells us, that in those same times many *violators of the law among the people of the prophet*, that is, the Jews apostatizing from the law, should *exalt* themselves, that is, under the favour of the king of the South; for the pleasing of whom, they should forsake their God and their holy religion; but that *they should fall* and be cut off *i. e.* by Antiochus; and so it came to pass; for Antiochus, having, anno 198, made himself master of Judea and Jerusalem, did cut off or drive from thence all those of Ptolemy's *party* who had thus far given themselves up to him, but shewed particular favour to those Jews, who, persevering in the observance of their law, would not comply with any proposals of the king of Egypt to apostatize from it. In the 15th verse, the holy prophet foreshews the victory, by which Antiochus, *the king of the North*, should make himself again master of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, that is, how he should *come* again into those provinces, *and cast up mounts against the most fenced cities in them, and take them*; and this he did in the year 198. For having then vanquished the king of Egypt's army at Paneas, he besieged and took, first Sidon, and next Gaza, and then all the other cities of those provinces; and made himself thorough master of the whole country. For although the king of Egypt

sent an army against him of *his chosen people*, that is, of his choicest troops, and under the command of his best generals, yet they could not prevail, or *have any strength to withstand him*, but were vanquished and repulsed by them; so that, as the prophet proceeds to tell us in the 16th verse, *he did according to his will* in all Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and, *none could there stand before him*. And, on the subjecting of these provinces to him, the same prophetic text goes on to tell us, *That he should stand in the glorious land*, and that *it should be consumed by his hand*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For, on his subduing Palestine, he entered into Judea, *the glorious land*; which was a part of Palestine, and there established his authority, and made it there firmly to *stand*, after he had expelled out of the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had left there. But, that garrison having made such resistance, that Antiochus was forced to go thither with all his army to reduce it; and the siege continuing some time, it happened hereby, that the country was eaten up and consumed by the foraging of the soldiers; and Jerusalem suffered such damage during the seige of the castle, both from the besieged and the besiegers, that it was near ruined by it; which fully appears from the decree which Antiochus afterwards granted the Jews for repairing of their demolished city, and the restoring of it from the ruinous condition into which it was then reduced. This decree was directed to Ptolemy, one of Antiochus' lieutenants, and who then seems to have been his governor in that province: and it is still extant [o] in Josephus. In the 17th verse is foretold, how that when Antiochus was ready to have *entered* Egypt, *with the strength of his whole kingdom, he made an agreement with* Ptolemy *to give him his daughter in marriage, corrupting her*, that is, with ill principles, to betray her husband to him, and thereby make him master of Egypt. For [p] Jerom tells us, this match was made with this fraudulent design. But, *she did not stand on his side, neither was for him*, but, when married to King Ptolemy, forsook the interest of her father, and wholly embraced that of her husband; and therefore we find her joining with him [q] in an embassy to the Romans, for the congratulating of their victory gained by Acilius at the straits of Thermopylæ over her own father. The 18th verse tells us of Antiochus' *turning of his face unto the isles, and his taking of many of them*; and so accordingly it

[o] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.
[p] In Comment. ad Cap. xi. Danielis. [q] Livius, lib. 37.

was done. For, after having finished the war in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, anno 197, he sent two of his sons with his army by land to Sardis, and he himself, with a great fleet, at the same time sailed into the Ægean sea, and there took in many of the islands in it, and extended his power and dominion much in those parts, till at length *the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach* by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, *made the reproach turn upon him*, by overthrowing him in the battle at Mount Sipylus, and driving him out of all Lesser Asia. This forced him, according to what is foretold in the 19th verse, *to return to the fort of his own land*, that is, to Antioch, the chief seat and fortress of his kingdom. From whence, going into the eastern provinces to gather money to pay the Romans, *he stumbled and fell, and was no more found*, as the sacred text expresseth it; that is, on his attempting to rob the temple in Elymais, he failed in his design, and was cut off and slain in it; so that he returned not into Syria, or was any more found there.

In the year that Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, bore unto Ptolemy Epiphanes her husband [r] a son, who reigned after him in Egypt by the name of Ptolemy Philometor. Hereon [s] all the great men and prime nobility of Cœle-Syria and Palestine hastened to Alexandria, to congratulate the king and queen, and make them those presents which were usual on such an occasion. But Joseph (who, on the restoration of those provinces to the king of Egypt, was again restored to his office of collecting the king's revenues in them) being too [t] old to take on him such a journey himself, sent Hyrcanus his son to make his compliment in his stead. This Hyrcanus was the youngest of his sons, but, being of the quickest parts and best understanding of them all, was best qualified for this employment. The history of his birth is

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[r] He was six years old when his father died; and therefore must have been born this year.

[s] Joseph. lib. 12. c. 4.

[t] For supposing Joseph to have been 30 years old, when he first went to the court of King Ptolemy Euergetes, and older he could not then be according to Josephus; for he saith he was then νέος ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν, *i. e.* as yet a young man, he would now have been 69. This also proves that it could not be earlier that Hyrcanus was sent on this embassy; for then Joseph would not have been past the age of going himself; and all things else prove it could not be latter.

very remarkable; it is told at large by Josephus in the 12th book of his Antiquities, [u] in manner as followeth:

Joseph, in the time of the former Ptolemy, father of Epiphanes, going to Alexandria on his occasions (as he frequently had such there, while collector of the king's revenues in Cœle-Syria and Palestine,) Solymius his brother accompanied him in the journey, and carried with him a daughter of his, with intent, on his coming to Alexandria, to marry her to some Jew of that place whom he should find of quality suitable for her. Joseph, on his arrival at Alexandria, going to court and there supping with the king, fell desperately in love with a young beautiful damsel whom he saw dancing before the king, and not being able to master his inordinate passion, he communicated it to his brother, and desired him, if possible, to procure for him the enjoyment of this young woman, and in as secret a manner as he could, because of the sin and shame that would attend such an act; which Solymius undertaking, put his own daughter to bed to him. Joseph having drunk well over night, perceived not that it was his niece; and, having in the same secret manner, accompanied with her several times without discovering the deceit, and being every time more and more enamoured with her, still supposing her to be the dancer, he at length made his moan to his brother, lamenting that his love had taken such deep root in his heart; that, he fearing he should never be able to get it out, and that his grief was, that the [x] Jewish law would not permit him to marry her, she being an *alien*; and if it would, [y] the king would never grant her unto him. Hereon, his brother discovered to him the whole matter, telling him, that he might take to wife the woman with whom he had so often accompanied, and was so much enamoured of, and lawfully enjoy her as much as he pleased: for she whom he had put to bed to him was his own daughter: that, he had chosen rather to do this wrong to his own child, than suffer him to do so shameful and sinful a thing, as to join himself to a strange woman, which their holy law forbad. Joseph, being much surprised at this discovery, and as much affected with his brother's kindness to him, expressed himself with all the

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[u] Cap. 4.

[x] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3. 1 Kings xi. 2. Ezra ix. 10. Neh. x. 30. & xiii. 25.

[y] Perchance this dancer was that Agathoclea which that king, *i. e.* Ptolemy Philopater, so much doted upon.

thankfulness which so great an obligation deserved, and forthwith took the young woman to wife; and of her the next year after was born Hyrcanus. For, according to the Jewish law, an uncle might marry his niece, though an [z] aunt could not her nephew; for which the Jewish writers give this reason, that the aunt being, in respect of the nephew, in the same degree with the father or mother in the line of descent, hath naturally a superiority above him; and therefore, for him to make her his wife, and thereby bring her down to be in a degree below him (as all wives are in respect of their husbands,) would be to disturb and invert the order of nature: but, that there is no such thing done where the uncle marries the niece; for, in this case, both keep the same degree and order which they were in before, without any mutation in it.

Joseph had by another wife seven other sons, all elder than Hyrcanus, to each of which he offered this commission of going from him to the Egyptian court, on the occasion mentioned: but they having all refused, Hyrcanus undertook it, though he was then a very young man, not being above 20, if so much. And, having persuaded his father not to send his presents from Judea, but to enable him, on his arrival at Alexandria, to buy there such curiosities for the king and queen, as when on the spot he should find would be most acceptable to them, he obtained from him letters of credit to Arion his agent at Alexandria, by whose hands he returned the king's taxes into his treasury, to furnish him with money for this purpose without limiting the sum, reckoning that about ten talents would be the most he would need. But Hyrcanus, on his arrival at Alexandria, taking the advantage of his father's unlimited order, instead of 10 talents demanded 1000; and having forced Arion (who had then 3000 talents of Joseph's money in his hands) to pay him that whole sum, which amounted to above 200,000 pounds of our money, he bought 100 beautiful boys for the king, and 100 beautiful young maids for the queen, at the price of a talent a head: and when he presented them, they carried each a talent in their hands, the boys for the king, and the young maids for the queen; so that this article alone cost him 400 talents. Some part of the rest he expended in valuable gifts to the courtiers and great officers about the king, keeping the remainder to his own use. By which means having procured

[z] Levit. xviii. 12, 13. & xx. 19.

in an high degree the favour of the king and queen, and their whole court, he returned with a commission to be collector of the king's revenues in all the country beyond Jordan. For having thus over-reached his father, he made all the interest which Joseph formerly had in the Egyptian court, to devolve from him upon himself, and got into his hands also the best of his estate; which exceedingly angering his brothers, who were before ill-affected towards him, they conspired to way-lay him, and cut him off as he returned, having their father's connivance, if not his consent, for the same; so much was he angered against him by what he had done in Egypt. But Hyrcanus coming well attended with soldiers, to assist him in the execution of his office, got the better of them in the assault which they made upon him; and two of his brothers were left dead upon the spot: but, on his coming to Jerusalem, finding his father exceedingly exasperated against him, both for his conduct in Egypt, and the death of his brothers on his return, and that for this reason no one there would own him, he passed over Jordan, and there entered on his office of collecting the king's revenues in those parts. A little after this Joseph died, and thereon a war commenced between Hyrcanus and the surviving brothers about their father's estate; which for some time disturbed the peace of the Jews at Jerusalem. But the high-priest and the generality taking part with the brothers, he was forced again to retreat over Jordan, where he built a very strong castle which he called Tyre; from whence he made war upon the neighbouring Arabs, infesting them with incursions and depredations for seven years together. This was while Seleucus Philopater, the son of Antiochus the Great, reigned in Syria. But, when Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded Seleucus, and had instated himself in Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as well as in the other provinces of the Syrian empire, Hyrcanus being threatened by him with his wrath for his conduct in this and other matters, for fear of him fell on his own sword and slew himself. Some time before his death, he seems to have recovered the favour of Onias the high-priest, and to have had him wholly in his interest: for he took his treasure into his charge, [a] and laid it up in the treasury of the temple, there to secure it from him; and, in his answer to Heliodorous, he saith of him, that he was a [b] man of great dignity. And Onias' favouring him thus far, might perchance be the true

[a] 2 Maccab. iii. 11. [b] 2 Maccab. ibid.

cause of that breach, [c] which happened between him and Simon the governor of the temple; who, upon good reason, is supposed to have been the eldest of the brothers of Hyrcanus, and the head of the family of the Tobiadæ (or the sons of [d] Tobias.) And, it is most likely, this provoked him to lay that design of betraying the treasury of the temple into the hands of the king of Syria, which we shall by and by speak of, that so Hyrcanus might lose what he had deposited in it.

After the death of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopater, his eldest son, whom he left at Antioch on his departure thence into the east, [e] succeeded him in the kingdom, but made a very poor figure in it, by reason of the low state which the Romans had reduced the Syrian empire to, and the heavy tribute of 1000 talents a-year, which, through the whole time of his reign, he was obliged to pay them, by the treaty of peace lately granted by them to his father. Anno. 186. Ptol. Epiphanes 19.

Ptolemy [f] had hitherto managed his government with approbation and applause, being till now directed in all things by the counsel and advice of Aristomenes his chief minister, who was as a father unto him. But at length the flatteries of his courtiers prevailing over the wise councils of this able ministers, he began to deviate into all the vicious and evil courses of his father: and, not being able to bear the freedom with which Aristomenes frequently advised him to a better conduct, he made him away by a cup of poison, and then gave himself up with a full swing into all manner of vicious pleasures; and this led him into as great miscarriages in the government; for thenceforth, instead of that clemency and justice with which he had hitherto governed the kingdom, he turned all into tyranny and cruelty, conducting himself in all things that he did, by nothing else but by corrupt will and arbitrary pleasure.

The [g] Egyptians, not being able to bear the grievances

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[c] 2 Maccab. iii. 4, 5. &c.

[d] This Tobias was the father of Joseph, and grandfather of Hyrcanus.

[e] Appian. in Syriacis, 'Qui de eo dicit, quod erat otiosus, nec admodum potens propter cladem quam pater acceperat.'

[f] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 294.

[g] Diodor. ibid.

which they suffered under this great mal-administration of their king, began to combine and make associations against him; and, being headed by many of the greatest power in the land, formed designs for the deposing of him from his throne, and had very near succeeded in it.

Anno 185. Ptol. Epiphanes 20.

For the extricating himself out of these troubles, he made [h] Polycrates his chief minister, who was a wise and valiant man, and long experienced in all the affairs both of war and peace; for he had been one of his father's generals in the battle of Raphia; and much of that victory which was there gained was owing unto him. After that he had been governor of Cyprus, and coming from thence to Alexandria, just upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of Scopas, he had a great hand in the suppressing of it.

Anno 184. Ptol. Epiphanes 21.

By his means, Ptolemy [h] having subdued the revolters, brought many of their leaders (who were of the chief nobility of his kingdom) upon terms of accommodation to submit to him; but, when he had gotten them into his power, he broke his faith with them. For, after having treated them with great cruelty, caused them all to be put to death; which base action involved him in new difficulties, but the wisdom of Polycrates extricated him out of all.

Anno 183. Ptol. Epiphanes 21.

Agisipolis, who, on the death of Cleomenes, had been in his infancy declared king of Lacedemon, being slain by pirates in a voyage which he was making to Rome, [i] Archbishop Usher thinks that Areus, a noble Lacedemonian, after him, much spoken of in those times, had the title of King of Lacedemon, after him, and that from him was sent that letter to Onias the high priest of the Jews, [k] in which the Lacedemonians claimed kindred with the Jews, and desired friendship with them on this account. Josephus indeed [l] saith, that this letter was writen to Onias the son of Simon, who was the third of that name that was high priest at Jerusalem; but it is hard in his time to find an Areus king of Lacedemon. For Archbishop Usher's conjecture will not do; that Areus, on whom he would fix the title of King of Lacedemon, for the fathering of this letter to Onias, is no where said to be so, neither is it any way likely that he ever

[h] Polybius, in Excerptis Valesii, p. 113.
[i] Annales Veteris Testamenti, sub anno J. P. 4531.
[k] 1 Maccab. 12. c. 5. [l] Lib. 12. c. 4.

had that title; for before his time both the royal families of the kings of Lacedemon had failed and become extinct; and the government there, which had for some time before been invaded by tyrants, was then turned into another form. And besides, Jonathan, in his letter to the Lacedemonians, 1 Maccab. xii. 10. wherein he makes mention of this letter of Areus, saith, That *there was a long time passed since it had been sent unto them*, which could not have been said by Jonathan in respect of the time in which Onias the third was high priest; since, from the death of that Onias, to the time that Jonathan was made prince of the Jews, there had passed no more than 12 years. It is most likely Josephus mistook the Onias to whom this letter was directed, and ascribed that to Onias the third, which was done only in the time of Onias the first. For, [m] while Onias, the first of that name, the son of Jaddua, was high priest of the Jews, there was an Areus king of Lacedemon, and from him most likely it was, that this letter was written. But the greatest difficulty as to this letter is to know on what foundation the Lacedemonians claimed kindred with the Jews. Areus saith in his letter, That *it was found in a certain writing, that the Lacedemonians and the Jews were brethren, and that they were both of the stock of Abraham.* But what this writing was, or how this pedigree mentioned in it was to be made out, is not said. No doubt, it was from some old fabulous story now lost; learned men having been offering several conjectures for the making out of this matter, but all so lame as not to be worth relating.

Ptolemy having suppressed his rebellious subjects at home, projected a war abroad against Seleucus king of Syria. But, [n] as he was laying his designs for it, one of his chief commanders asked him, Where he would have money to carry it on? To this he answered, that his friends were his money; from whence many of the chief men about him, inferring, that he intended to take their money from them for the carrying on of this war; for the preventing of it, procured poison to be given him, which did put an end to this project and his life together, after he had reigned 24 years, and lived 29. Ptolemy Philometor his son, an infant of six years old, succeeded him in the kingdom, under the guardianship of Cleopatra his mother. Anno 180. Ptol. Philometor 1.

[m] Vide Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon, p. 139. & Canonum Isagog. lib. 3. p. 340.

[n] Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

Perseus, having succeeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, [o] married Laodice the daughter of Seleucus king of Syria; and the Rhodians with their whole fleet conducted her from Syria into Macedon. In their way thither they stopped at Delus, an island in the Egean sea, sacred to Apollo, where he had a temple erected to him, which, next that at Delphos, was reckoned to be of the greatest note in all Greece. While the fleet lay there, Laodice having made many offerings to the temple, and given many gifts to the people of the place, they, in acknowledgment hereof there erected a statue to her, on the pedestal whereof was engraven this inscription, Ὁ Δῆμος τῶν Δηλίων Βασιλίσσαν Λαοδίκην Βασιλέως Σελεύκου, γυναῖκα Βασιλέως Περσέως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐνοίας τοῦ εἰς τὸν Δῆμον τῶν Δηλίων. i. e. *The people of Delus erected this for Queen Laodice, the daughter of King Seleucus, and the wife of King Perseus, because of her virtue, and of her piety to the temple, and her beneficence to the people of Delus.* The marble whereon this inscription was engraven is still extant among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, from whence it was published by me among the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Num. 142. p. 276.

Anno 177. Ptol. Philometor 4.

Simon a Benjamite being made [p] governor and protector of the temple at Jerusalem (which office he seems to have had from the death of Joseph, and was most probably [q] one of his sons,) differences arose between him and Onias the high priest; and when he found that he could not prevail against Onias, he, with the rest of the sons of Tobias, fled from Jerusalem, and went to Apollonius, who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine for Seleucus king of Syria, and told him of great treasures which, he said, were laid up in the temple at Jerusalem; whereon Apollonius informing the king, Heliodorus his treasurer was sent to make seizure of it, and bring it to Antioch. How the hand of God appeared in a very miraculous manner against Heliodorus in this sacrilegious attempt, is at large related in the third chapter of the second book of Maccabees. However, [r] Simon still carrying on his malice against Onias, and murders having been thereon committed by those of his fac-

Anno 176. Ptol. Philometor 5.

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[o] Polyb. Legat. 60. p. 882. Livius, lib. 42.

[p] 2 Maccab. iii. 4.

[q] Vide Grotium in Annotationibus ad tertio Cap. 2. Libri Maccab. ver. 4.

[r] 2 Maccab. iv.

tion, and Apollonius encouraging him herein, Onias went to Antioch to make complaint to the king of these violences; but he had not been there long ere the king died.

It hath been above related, that when Antiochus the Great, the father of Seleucus, made peace with the Romans after the battle of Mount Sipylus, among other hostages which were then given for the observance of that peace, one was Antiochus the king's son, and younger brother to Seleucus. He having been now 13 years at Rome, [s] Seleucus had a desire to have him home: and therefore, for the redeeming of him, he sent Demetrius his only son, then about 12 years old, to be there in his stead by way of exchange for him. Whether he did this, as [t] some moderns think, that his son might have the benefit of a Roman education, or that he might make use of Antiochus for the executing of some designs he might then have upon Egypt, during the minority of Philometor, as [u] is conjectured by others, or for some other reason different from both, is not said in any authentic history of those times. While both the next heirs of the crown were thus absent (Demetrius being gone for Rome, and Antiochus not yet returned from thence,) Heliodorus the king's treasurer, the same that had been sent to rob the temple at Jerusalem, thinking this a fit opportunity for him to usurp the crown, were Seleucus out of the way, [x] caused poison to be treacherously given him, of which he died.

It appears from the third and fourth chapters of the second Maccabees, and also from [y] Josephus, that Seleucus had been in possession of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, some time before his death. For Apollonius was governor of those provinces for him, and Heliodorus was sent to Jerusalem, by his commission, when he would have there seized the treasure of the temple for his use; and Onias, when oppressed by Simon the Benjamite and his faction, applied himself to Seleucus king of Syria, and not to Ptolemy king of Egypt, for redress of his grievances: all which plainly proves, that Seleucus was then in possession of the sovereignty of those provinces; but how he came by it is no where said in history. After the battle of Paneas, it is certain Antiochus the Great made himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and utterly excluded Ptolemy from the sovereignty, which, till then, the Egyptian kings had

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[s] Appian. in Syriacis.
[t] Salianus sub Anni Mundi 3780.
[u] Vaillant in Hist. Regum Syriæ.
[x] Appian. in Syriacis.
[y] In Libro de Maccab. c. 4.

in those provinces. But, when the same Antiochus married his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dowry with her, reserving to himself one half of the revenues of those provinces. And, if they were then restored to Ptolemy, the question ariseth here-from, How then came Seleucus to be possessed of them? By what we find in [z] Polybius, it may be inferred, that this agreement was never faithfully executed either by Antiochus or by Seleucus his son; but that both of them held these provinces, notwithstanding that article of the marriage, whereby it was agreed to surrender them to the Egyptian king. For that author [z] tells us, That, from the time of the battle of Paneas, where Antiochus vanquished Scopas and the Egyptian army, all parts of the above mentioned provinces were subject to the king of Syria. And he also tells us, That Antiochus Epiphanes (who succeeded Seleucus,) in an answer which he gave to the ambassadors that came to him from Greece to compose the differences that were between him and King Ptolemy Philometor, [a] denied, that Antiochus his father ever agreed to surrender Cœle-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes on his marrying of his daughter to him; which may seem to infer, that Cœle-Syria and Palestine, notwithstanding the said agreement, were still retained in the possession of the Syrian kings. But what Josephus [b] saith of Hyrcanus' journey, to congratulate King Ptolemy Epiphanes, and Cleopatra his queen, on the birth of Philometor their son, and the flocking of the nobles of Cœle-Syria thither on the same account, is a clear proof of the contrary, that is, that Cœle-Syria and Palestine were then in the possession of the Egyptian king, by what means soever it afterwards became that he was put out of it. It is most likely, that Seleucus, having just cause of war given him by the preparations that Ptolemy Epiphanes was making against him at the time of his death, took the advantage [c] of the minority of Philometor his son, to prosecute this war against him which his father had begun, and therein seized these provinces; for it is certain, both from the Maccabees and from Josephus, that Seleucus was in possession of them at the time of his death.

The whole of this king's reign is expressed in Daniel xi. 20. For in that text it is foretold, that after Antiochus the Great, who is spoken of in the foregoing verses, *there should stand up*

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[z] Legat, 72. p. 893. [a] Polyb. Legat. 82. p. 908.
[b] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 4.
[c] He was but six years old at the time of his father's death.

in his estate a raiser of taxes. And Seleucus was no more than such all his time; for the whole business of his reign was to raise the 1000 talents every year; which, by the treaty of peace that his father made with the Romans, he was obliged for 12 years together, annually to pay that people; and the last of those 12 years was the last of his life. For, as the text saith, That *within a few* [d] *years after he should be destroyed, and that neither in anger, nor in battle;* so accordingly it happened. For he reigned only 11 years, and his death was neither in battle nor in anger; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in sedition or rebellion at home, but by the secret treachery of one of his own friends. His successor was Antiochus Epiphanes his brother, of whom we shall treat in the next book.

[d] The Hebrew word *Yamim*, which in the English Bible is rendered days, signifieth also years, and is put as often for the one as the other.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK III.

ON the death of Seleucus Philopater, [a] Heliodorus, who had been the treacherous author of his death, endeavoured to seize the crown of Syria. Antiochus the brother of Seleucus was then on his return from Rome. While at Athens [b] in his journey, he there heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of Heliodorus to usurp the throne; and finding that the usurper had a great party with him to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming for [c] Ptolemy (who made some claim to the succession in right of his mother, she being sister to the deceased king,) and that both of them were agreed *not to give unto him the honour of the kingdom*, as the holy prophet [d] Daniel foretold, he [e] applied himself to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, and [f] *by flattering speeches*, and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them

Anno 157. Ptol. Philometor 6.

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[a] Appian in Syriacis.
[b] Appian. ibid.
[c] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21.
[d] Daniel xi. 21.
[e] Appian. in Syriacis.
[f] Daniel xi. 21.

to help him against Heliodorus. And by their means that usurper [g] being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the throne, and all submitted to him, and permitted him, without any further opposition, peaceably to obtain the kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy. Eumenes and Attalus, at this time having some suspicions of the Romans, were desirous of having the king of Syria on their side, in case a war should break out between them, and Antiochus' promises to stick by them, whenever such a war should happen, were the inducements that prevailed with them to do him this kindness.

On his being thus settled on the throne, he took [h] the name of Epiphanes, that is, *The Illustrious;* but nothing could be more alien to his true character than this title. The prophet Daniel foretold of him, that he should be [i] *a vile person*, so our English version hath it; but the word *nibzeh* in the original rather signifieth despicable than vile. He was truly both in all that both these words can express, which will fully appear from the character given of him by [k] Polybius, [l] Philarchus, [m] Livy, and [n] Diodorus Siculus, who were all Heathen writers, and the two first of them his contemporaries. For they tell us, that he would get often out of the palace and ramble about the streets of Antioch, with two or three servants only accompanying him; that he would be often conversing with those that graved in silver, and cast vessels of gold, and be frequently found with them in their shops talking and nicely arguing with them about the mysteries of their trades; that he would very commonly debase himself to the meanest company, and on his going abroad would join in with such, as he happened to find them met together, although of the lowest of the people, and enter into discourse with any one of them whom he should first light on; that he would in his rambles frequently drink with strangers and foreigners, and even with the meanest and vilest of them; that, when he heard of any young company met together to feast, drink, or any otherwise to make merry together, he would, without giving any notice of his coming, intrude himself among them, and revel away the time with

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[g] Appian. ibid.

[h] Appian. in Syriacis. Eusebius in Chronicon. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 193.

[i] Dan. xi. 21.

[k] Apud Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 193.

[l] Apud Athenæum, lib. 10. p. 438.

[m] Lib. 41. [n] In Excerptis Valesii, p. 304.

them in their cups and songs, and other frolics, without any regard had to common decency, or his own royal character; so that several being surprised with the strangeness of the thing, would, on his coming, get up and run away out of the company. And he would sometimes, as the freak took him, lay aside his royal habit, and, putting on a Roman gown, go round the city, as he had seen done in the election of magistrates at Rome, and ask the votes of the citizens, in the same manner as used to be there practised, now taking one man by the hand, and then embracing another, and would thus set himself up, sometimes for the office of ædile, and sometimes for that of tribune; and, having been thus voted into the office he sued for, he would take the curule chair, and, sitting down in it, hear petty causes of contracts, bargains, and sales, made in the market, and give judgment in them with that serious attention and earnestness, as if they had been matters of the highest concern and importance. It is said also of him, that [o] he was much given to drunkenness; and that he spent a great part of his revenues in revellings and drunken carousals; and would often go out into the streets while in these frolics, and there scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble, crying out, *Let him take to whom fortune gives it.* Sometimes he would go abroad with a crown of roses upon his head, and, wearing a Roman gown, would walk the streets alone, and, carrying stones under his arms, would throw them to those that should follow after him. And he would often wash himself in the public baths among the common people, and there expose himself by many absurd and ridiculous actions. Which odd and extravagant sort of conduct made many doubt how the matter stood with him; [p] some thinking him a fool and some a madman; the latter of these most thought to be his truest character; and therefore, instead of Epiphanes, or *the illustrious*, they called him [q] Epimanes, that is, *the madman.* Jerom [r] tells us also of him, that he was exceedingly given to lasciviousness, and often by the vilest acts of it debased the honour of his royal dignity; that he was frequently found in the company of mimics, pathics, and common prostitutes, and that, with the latter he would commit acts of lasciviousness, and gratify his lust on them publicly in the sight of the people. And

[o] Athenæus, lib. 10. p. 438.
[p] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 306. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 193.
[q] Athenæus, ibid. [r] In Comment. ad Dan. xi. 37.

it is further related of him, that having for his catamites two vile persons, called [s] Timarchus and Heraclides, who were brothers, he made the first of them governor of Babylonia, and the other his treasurer in that province, and gave himself up to be governed and conducted by them in most that he did. And, [t] having on a very whimsical occasion, exhibited games and shows at Daphne near Antioch, with vast expence, and called thither a great multitude of people from foreign parts as well as from his own dominions, to be present at the solemnity; he there behaved himself to that degree of folly and absurdity, as to become the ridicule and scorn of all that were present: which actions of his are sufficiently abundant to demonstrate him both despicable and vile, though he had not added to them that most unreasonable and wicked persecution of God's people in Judea and Jerusalem; which will be hereafter related.

As soon as Antiochus was settled in the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, being ambitious of the high-priesthood, by underhand means [u] applied to him for it; and by an offer of 360 talents, besides 80 more which he promised on another account, obtained of him, that Onias was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead. And at the same time procured, that Onias was called to Antioch, and confined to dwell there. For Onias, by reason of [x] his signal piety and righteousness, being of great esteem among the people throughout all Judea and Jerusalem, the intruder justly feared, that he should have but little authority in his new acquired office, as long as this good man, from whom he usurped it, should continue at Jerusalem; and therefore he procured from the king an order for his removal from thence to Antioch, and his confinement to that place; where [y] he accordingly continued till he was there put to death, as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. Antiochus coming poor to the crown, and finding the public treasury empty, by reason of the heavy tribute paid the Romans for the 12 years last foregoing, was greedy of the money which Jason offered, and

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[s] They are taken to be the same, who in Athæneus, p. 438. are called Aristus and Themison; though that author there seems to speak of Antiochus Magnus, and not of Antiochus Epiphanes.

[t] Polyb. apud Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 194. & lib. 10. p. 439. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 320.

[u] 2 Maccab. iv. 7. Joseph. de Maccab. c. 4.

[x] 2 Maccab. iii. 1. iv. 37. [y] 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

therefore, for the obtaining of it, readily granted what he desired of him, and would have been glad to have granted more on the same terms; which Jason perceiving, [z] proposed to advance 150 talents over and above what he had already offered, if he might have licence to erect at Jerusalem a gymnesium, or a place of exercise, and an ephebeum, or a place for the training up of youth, according to the usage and fashion of the Greeks; and moreover, have authority of making as many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem freemen of Antioch as he should think fit; which proposal being as readily accepted of as the former, all this was also granted him: And, by these means, he doubted not he should be able to make a party among the Jews, to overbear all that might stand for Onias; and, accordingly, on his return to Jerusalem with these grants and commissions, he had all the success herein which he proposed. For, at this time, there were many among the Jews fondly inclined to the ways of the Greeks, whom he gratified, by erecting his gymnasium for them to exercise in: and the freedom of the city of Antioch being a privilege of great value, while the Syro-Macedonian king flourished there, by his power of granting that freedom he drew over many more to his bent; so that, putting down [a] the governments that were according to law, he brought up new customs against the law, drawing the chief young men of the Jewish nation into his ephebeum, and there training them up after the manner of the Greeks; and in all things else, he made as many of them as he could apostatise from the religion and usages of their forefathers, and conform themselves to the manners, customs, and rites of the Heathens; whereon the service of the altar became neglected, and the priests, despising the Temple, omitted there the public worship of God, and hastened to partake of the games and divertisements of the gymnasium, and all other the unlawful allowances of that place; whereby it came to pass, that all those privileges which, at the solicitation of John the father of Eupolemus, were by special favour obtained of King Seleucus Philopater, for the securing of the observance of the Jewish law in Judah and Jerusalem, were all overborne and taken away. And from hence was propagated that iniquity among the Jews, which drew after it, for its punishment, one of the greatest calamities, next the two terrible destructions executed upon their temple and country by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus that ever befel that nation. Of

[z] 2 Maccab. vi. 8, 9. [a] 2 Maccab. iv. 10, 11, 12, &c.

all which mischief, the ambition of this wicked man was the original cause; for, sacrificing to it his religion and his country, he betrayed both to procure his own advancement. And, to render himself the more acceptable to those from whom he obtained it, he changed not only his religion, but also his name. For [b] his name was at first Jesus; but, when he went over to the ways of the Greeks, he took also a Greek name, and called himself Jason; and, having thus given himself up to the Heathen superstition, he laid hold of all opportunities to distinguish himself in expressing his zeal for it.

And therefore, [c] the next year being the time of the [d] quinquennial games that were celebrated at Tyre, in honour of Hercules, the patron god of that country, and Antiochus being present at them, he sent several Jews of his party, whom he had enfranchised, and made freemen of Antioch, to be [e] spectators of those games, and to offer from him a donative of [f] 3300

Anno 174. Ptol. Philometor 7.

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[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6. [c] 2 Maccab. iv. 18, 19.

[d] These quinquennial games at Tyre were in imitation of the quinquennial games in Greece, called the Olympics. They are called quinquennial, because they were celebrated in the beginning of the fifth year, though from one Olympic to another no more than four years intervened.

[e] The original calls them Θεωρούς; which word among the Greeks signifieth such as were sent from one city to another in the name of the community, to be present at their sacred solemnities, and bear a part in them.

[f] In the English version it is 300 drachms; and so it is also in the common printed books of the Greek original; but in the Arundel manuscript, it is, τρισχίλιαι τριακόσιαι, *i. e.* 3300, which is the truer reading. For 300 drachms, at the highest valuation, making no more than 75 Jewish shekels, that is, of our money, 11*l.* 5*s.* it was too little to be sent on such an occasion (*vide Annales Usserii sub anno mundi* 3830.) But it is to be here observed, that the Tyrian god to whom this oblation was sent, is, in the place of the second book of Maccabees here cited, called Hercules, according to the style of the Greeks. Among the Tyrians themselves this name was not known. There his name was Malcarthus; which, being compounded of the two Phœnician words Melec and Kartha, did, in that language, signify the King or Lord of the city. The Greeks, from some similitude which they found in the worship of this god at Tyre, with that wherewith they worshipped Hercules in Greece, thought them to be both the same; and therefore called this Tyrian god Hercules; and hence came the

drachms, to be expended in sacrifices to that Heathen deity. But the bearers, being afraid of involving themselves in the guilt of this idolatry, gave the money to the Tyrians to be employed in the repairing of their fleet; and so the apostate was defeated of what he intended by this impious gift.

In Egypt, from [g] the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his queen, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had taken on her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant son, who had succeeded him in it, and managed it with great care and prudence; but, she dying this year, the management of affairs there fell into the hands of Lenneus, a nobleman of that court, and Eulæus, an eunuch, who had the breeding up of the young king. As soon as they had entered on the administration they made demand of Cœle-Syria and Palestine from Antiochus Epiphanes, [h] which gave origin to the war that afterwards ensued between Antiochus and Philometor. As long as Cleopatra lived, she, being mother to the one, and sister to the other, kept this matter from making a breach between them. But, after her death, those into whose hands the government next fell made no longer scruple to demand of Antiochus, in behalf of their master, what they thought his due. And it must be owned, that those provinces were always in the possession of the kings of Egypt, from the time of the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and by this title only Seleucus his son came to be in full possession of them, and, on his death, was succeeded in the same by Antiochus Epiphanes his brother.

Anno 173. Ptol. Philometor 8.

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name of Hercules Tyrius among them. This god seems to be the same with the Baal of the holy scriptures, whose worship Jezebel brought from Tyre into the land of Israel: for Baal, with the addition of Kartha, signifieth the same as Melec with the same addition. For as the latter in the Phœnician language is *King of the city*, the other, in the same language, is *Lord of the city*. And as Baal is put alone to signify this Tyrian god in scripture, so do we find Melec also put alone to signify the same god: for Hesychius tells us, Μάλικα τὸν Ἡρακλέα Ἀμαθούσιοι, *i. e.* Mulic is the name of Hercules among the Amathusians. And these Amathusians were a colony of the Tyrians in Cyprus. Vide Sanchoniathonem apud Eusebium de Præp. Evang. lib. 1. Bocharti Phaleg. part 2. lib. 1. c. 34. & lib. 2. c. 2. Seldenum de Diis Syris, syntag. 1. c. 6. & Fulleri Miscellan. lib. 2. c. 17.

[g] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21.

[h] Polybius Legat 82. p. 908.

The Egyptians, in defence of their claim argued, that [i] in the last partition of the empire of Alexander, made after the battle of Ipsus, among those four of his successors who then survived, these provinces were assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that he and the succeeding kings of his race had held them ever after, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes after the battle of Paneas: and that the same Antiochus had agreed on the marrying of his daughter to the same King Ptolemy, and made it the main article of that marriage, again to restore to him these provinces, by way of dowry with her. But Antiochus [k] denied both these allegations, pleading in answer to them, that, by virtue of the last partition of the empire of Alexander above mentioned, all Syria, including Cœle-Syria and Palestine, was assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore it belonged to him as his rightful heir in the Syrian empire. And as to the article of marriage, whereby a restoration of those provinces to King Ptolemy was claimed, he utterly denied that there was any such thing. And having thus declared on both sides their pretensions, they joined issue hereon, and referred it to the sword to decide the matter.

Ptolemy Philometor being now 14 years old, he was declared to be out of his minority; and thereon [l] great preparations were made at Alexandria for his [m] inthronization, as was usual there on this occasion. Hereon Antiochus [n] sent Apollonius, one of the prime nobles of his court in an embassy thither, to be present at the solemnity, and to congratulate the young king thereon. This he did in outward pretence, to express his respects to his nephew, and shew him honour on this occasion; but in reality it was only to spy out how that court stood affected to him, and what measures they were proposing to take in reference to him, and the contested provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine; and on the return of this ambassador to him, finding by his report that war was in-

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[i] Polybius Legat. 72. p. 893.

[k] Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893. & Legat. 82. p. 908.

[l] Polyb. Legat. 78. p. 902. 2 Maccabees iv. 21.

[m] This the Alexandrian Greeks called Ἀναβλητήρια, or *the solemnity of salutation*; because they then first saluted him as king. This the author of the second book of Maccabees, calls πρωτοκλησια, iv. 21.; for so it ought to be read, according to the Alexandrian manuscript, and not πρωτοκλισια, as in the printed books.

[n] 2 Maccabees, iv. 21.

tended against him, he [n] came by sea to Joppa, to take a view of the frontiers towards Egypt, and to put them into a thorough posture of defence against any attempts which the Egyptians might make upon them: and in this progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity by Jason and all the city, and treated with great magnificence. But this operated nothing for the averting of that great mischief and calamity which he afterwards brought upon that place, and the whole nation of the Jews. From Jerusalem he marched into Phœnicia; and, having there settled all matters, he returned again to Antioch.

The next year Jason [o] sent Menelaus his brother to Antioch, there to pay the king his tribute money, and also to treat with him about other matters which he thought necessary to be done. But, on his admission to audience, instead of pursuing his commission in behalf of his brother, he treacherously supplanted him, and got into his place. For having first recommended himself to the favour of this vain prince by a flattering speech, wherein he greatly magnified the glorious appearance of his power, he took the opportunity of petitioning him for the high-priesthood for himself, offering more than Jason gave for it by 300 talents. Which offer being readily accepted, Jason was deposed after he had been as high priest in the government of that nation [p] three years, and Menelaus was advanced in his stead. This Menelaus, the author of the second book of Maccabees [q] saith, *was brother to Simon the Benjamite*, who was of the house of Tobias but this could not be: for none but such as were of the house of Aaron were capable of this office: and therefore in this particular, Josephus is rather to be credited, [r] who positively tells us, that he was the brother of Onias and Jason, and the son of Simon the second of that name, high priest of the Jews, and that he was the third of his sons that had been in that office. His name at first was Onias, the same with that of his eldest brother; but, running as fast as Jason into the ways of the Greeks, in imitation of him, he took a Greek name also, and called himself Menelaus. His father and his eldest brother were both of them holy and good men: but he chose rather to imitate

Anno 172. Ptol. Philometor 9.

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[n] 2 Maccabees iv. 21.
[o] 2 Maccab. iv. 23, 24, 25.
[p] 2 Maccab. iv. 23.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6.

the example of wicked Jason than theirs; for he [s] followed him in all his ways of fraud, wickedness, and apostasy, and outdid him in each of them. Jason's being supplanted by him in the same manner as he had supplanted Onias, was a just retaliation of Providence; but Menelaus was a much more wicked instrument herein than the other, since he practised this fraud against Jason while he was under his confidence, and had on him the character of his ambassador, and by virtue of that character got that access to the king whereby he effected it. As soon as his mandate for the office was dispatched at the Syrian court, Menelaus went with it to Jerusalem: and although, on his coming, [t] the sons of Tobias, who then made a very potent faction in the Jewish state, joined with him; yet such a party stood for Jason, that Menelaus was forced with his friends of the house of Tobias, to quit the place, and return again to Antioch; where they having declared that they would no longer observe their country, laws, and institutions, but would go over to the religion of the king, and the worship of the Greeks; this so far gained them the favour of Antiochus, that he sent them back, assisted with such a power as Jason could not resist; and therefore, being forced to leave Jerusalem, [u] he fled into the land of the Ammonites, and Menelaus took possession of his office without any further opposition; and thereon he proceeded to make good all that he and his party had declared at Antioch, [x] by apostatizing from the law of Moses to the religion of the Greeks, and all other their rites and usages, and drawing as many others after him into the same impiety as he was able. For he did not desire the office of high priest at Jerusalem for the sake of the Jewish religion, or that he intended to practise any part of the Jewish worship in it. That which made this office so desirable to him and Jason, and induced them both to give so much for it, was the temporal authority that went with the ecclesiastical. For at that time, and for some ages past, the high priest of the Jews, had first under the Persian, and afterwards under the Macedonian kings, the sole temporal government of that nation. This last most certainly was derived from the king, and this gave him the handle to dispose of both, though the priesthood itself was derived only from that divine authority under which

[s] 2 Maccab. iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6.
[t] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6.
[u] Maccab. iv. 26. [x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6.

it acted. And the case is the same in respect of the Christian priesthood. For to instance in Episcopacy, the first order of it, besides the ecclesiastical office, which is derived from Christ alone, it hath in Christian states annexed to it (as with us,) the temporal benefice, (that is, the revenues of the bishoprick,) and some branches of the temporal authority, as the probate of wills, causes of tithes, causes of defamation, &c.; all which latter most certainly is held under the temporal state, but not the former. Were this distinction duly considered, it would put an end to those Erastian notions which now so much prevail among us. For the want of this is the true cause that many, observing some branches of the Episcopal authority to be from the state, wrongfully from hence infer, that all the rest is so too; whereas, would they duly examine the matter, they would find, that, besides the temporal power and temporal revenues with which bishops are invested, there is also an ecclesiastical or spiritual power which is derived from none other than Christ alone. And the same distinction may also serve to quash another controversy, which was much agitated among us in the reign of his late Majesty King William III. about the act which deprived the bishops who would not take the oaths to that king. For the contest then was, that an act of parliament could not deprive a bishop. This we acknowledge to be true in respect of the spiritual office, but not in respect of the benefice, and other temporal advantages and powers annexed thereto. For these every bishop receiveth from the state, and the state can again deprive any bishop of them upon a just cause: and this was all that was done by the said act. For the bishops that were then deprived by it had still their episcopal office left entire to them, they being as much bishops of the church universal after their deprivation as they were before.

Anno 171. Ptol. Philometor 10.

Menelaus, after he had got into the high-priesthood by outbidding his brother, [y] took no care to pay the money; whereon the king calling upon Sostratus, the captain of the castle at Jerusalem, (who was also receiver of the king's revenues in Judea,) and he upon Menelaus for the money, they were both summoned to appear before the king at Antioch, to give an account hereof; but, on their arrival there, they found the king was gone from thence, to quell an insurrection that had been made against him at Malus and Tarsus, two cities of Cilicia. For the re-

[y] 2 Maccab. iv. 27, 28.

venues of these cities having been assigned to Antiochis, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants, either out of indignation for this thing, or because the concubine exacted upon them, rose up in an uproar, and Antiochus was then hastened thither to appease it, leaving Andronicus, one of the prime nobles of his court, to govern Antioch during his absence. Menelaus, taking the advantage of the time, thus gained by the absence of the king, made the best use of it he could to raise the money he owed him before his return; in order whereto, [z] having, by the means of Lysimachus, whom he left his deputy at Jerusalem, gotten many of the gold vessels out of the temple, he sold them at Tyre, and the cities round about; and thereby raised money enough, not only to pay the king, but also to bribe Andronicus and other courtiers to procure favour for him. [a] Onias, who then lived at Antioch, as being confined to that place by the order of the king, having notice of this sacrilege, reproved Menelaus very severely for it; which the apostate not being able to bear, for the revenging of himself upon him for it, applied to Andronicus, and engaged him for a sum of money to cut Onias off; of which Onias having gained intelligence, fled to the asylum at Daphne, and there took sanctuary for the safety of his life. But [b] Andronicus having, by fair words and false oaths, persuaded him to come forth out of that place, immediately put him to death, that thereby he might earn the money which Menelaus had promised him. But Onias having, by his laudable carriage while he lived at Antioch, gained much upon the affection and esteem of the inhabitants of the place, as well Greeks as Jews, they took this murder so ill, [c] that they both joined in a petition to the king, on his return, against Andronicus for it; whereon cognizance being taken of the crime, and the wicked murderer convicted of it, Antiochus [d] caused him with infamy to be carried to the place where the murder was committed, and there put to death for it in such manner as he deserved. For Antiochus, as wicked a tyrant as he was, had sorrow and regret upon him for the death of so good a man; and therefore, in his thus revenging of it, he executed his own resentments, as well as those of the persons who had petitioned for it.

This Onias was high priest of the Jews 24 years. Eusebius

[z] 2 Maccab. iv. 32—39.
[a] 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.
[b] 2 Maccab. ibid.
[c] 2 Maccab. iv. 25, 26.
[d] 2 Maccab. iv. 27, 28.

mentioneth not at all the time of his being in the office, though he doth it of all the rest, from the time of the Babylonish captivity. But the [c] Chronicon Alexandrinum doth assign him 24 years, which are to be reckoned to the time of his death. This chronicon, in the assigning of the years of each pontificate from the time mentioned to the death of this Onias, much better agreeing both with the scriptures and the history of Josephus, than either Africanus or Eusebius, I have rather chosen to follow that author in this matter than either of the other two, excepting only in the pontificate of Simon the Just. For, whereas the Chronicon Alexandrinum assigns to it 14 years, and Eusebius only nine, I choose rather to follow Eusebius in this particular, that I might not carry down the last year of the high-priesthood of Manasseh too far from the death of his father. For allowing Simon the Just 14 years to his pontificate, it will carry down the time of the death of Manasseh to 76 years after the death of Jaddua his father, and make him to be near an 100, if not more, at the time of his decease; and every year deducted from so great an age makes the account the more probable; and nothing can be deducted elsewhere to lessen it by the authority of either of those two authors, (and there is no other authority but theirs to be recurred to in this matter.) For all the years of the other pontificates, from the death of Jaddua to that of Manasseh, do, in both these authors, either equal or exceed the years of the said chronicon; and, therefore, there is no where else where they can be lessened by the authority of either of them. And, unless they be thus lessened, another inconvenience would happen worse than the other. For otherwise, the last year of Onias would be carried down beyond what is consistent either with the history of Josephus, or that of the two books of the Maccabees. From the death of Onias, the pontificates following will be taken from the said books of the

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[c] This chronicon had first the name of Fasti Siculi, because first found in an old library in Sicily, and from thence conveyed to Rome, where Sigonius and Onufrius made use of it, and quote it under the name of Fasti Siculi. But Sylburgius having gotten another copy of it, presented it to Hœschelius, who gave it to the library at Augsburg in Germany, from whence Rader the Jesuit published it with a Latin version A. D. 1624, under the title of Chronicon Alexandrinum. He gave it this title, because in the manuscript from whence he printed it, there was a short preface premised under the name of Peter patriarch of Alexandria.

Maccabees as far as they go; and from the history of Josephus who hath them all to the end.

In the interim, there happened a great mutiny at Jerusalem, by reason of the vessels of gold that were carried out of the temple by the order of Menelaus. When he went to Antioch, [f] he left Lysimachus, another of his brothers, as bad as himself, to execute his office during his absence, and by his means [g] those vessels of gold were carried out of the temple, which Menelaus sold at Tyre and other places to raise the money above mentioned. When this came to be known, and the [h] bruit hereof was spread abroad among the people, the multitude taking great indignation hereat, gathered themselves together against Lysimachus; whereon he got together about 3000 men of his party, under the command of one Tyrannus, an old soldier, to resist their rage, and defend himself against them; but the multitude fell on them with that fury, that, wounding some, and killing others, they forced the rest to flee; and then, falling on Lysimachus the sacrilegious robber, they slew him beside the treasury, within the temple, and thereby, for that time, put an end to this sacrilege.

Antiochus, [i] having, ever since the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, been preparing for the war which he found he must necessarily have with Ptolemy about the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and being now ready for it, resolved to defer it no longer; but, instead of expecting the war in his own territories, determined to carry it into those of his enemy. The youth of Ptolemy (he being then but 16 years old,) and the weak conduct of the ministers into whose hands he was fallen, made him despise both; and the Romans (under whose protection Egypt then was,) were not at leisure to afford them any help, by reason of the war which they were at that time engaged in with Perseus king of Macedon; and therefore, thinking he could not have a more favourable juncture for the bringing of this controversy to a successful decision, he resolved forthwith to begin the contest. However, to keep as fair with the Romans as the case would admit, [k] he sent ambassadors to lay before the senate the right

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[f] 2 Maccab. iv. 29. [g] 2 Maccab. iv. 27.

[h] 2 Maccab. iv. 40—42.

[i] Livius, lib. 42. c. 29. Polyb. Legat. 71. p. 892. Justin. lib. 34. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 6. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 22.

[k] Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893. Diodorus Siculus, Legat. 18.

he had to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was forced to enter on in the defence of them; and then forthwith marched his army towards the frontiers of Egypt, [l] where, being met by the forces of Ptolemy, between Mount Casius and Pelusium, it there came to a battle between them; in which Antiochus having gotten the victory, he took care on the advantage of it, well to fortify that border of his dominions, and to make the barrier in that quarter as strong as he could against any future attempt that Ptolemy might make upon these provinces; and then, without attempting any thing further this year, returned to Tyre; and there, and in the neighbouring cities, put his army into winter-quarters.

While he lay at Tyre, there [m] came thither to him three delegates from the sanhedrim, or senate of the Jews, to complain of the sacrileges of Menelaus, and the violences and disorders which, by Lysimachus his deputy, he had lately caused at Jerusalem; and having, on the hearing of the cause, plainly convicted him before the king of all that they had laid to his charge, Menelaus, to avoid the sentence which he deserved, and which he saw was ready to be pronounced against him, bribed Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes, with a great sum of money to befriend him with the king; whereon Ptolemy, taking the king aside, prevailed with him, contrary to what he intended, not only to absolve Menelaus, but also to put to death the three delegates of the Jews, as if they had unjustly accused him, which was so manifest a piece of oppression and injustice in the eyes of all in that place, that the Tyrians, pitying their case, caused them to be honourably buried.

Anno 170. Ptol. Philometor 11.

This Ptolemy Macron, [n] having been formerly governor of Cyprus for King Ptolemy Philometor, had, during his minority, reserved all the king's revenues of that island in his hands, refusing to pay it to the ministers, notwithstanding their earnest call for it. But as soon as the king was enthroned, he brought it all to Alexandria, and there paid the whole into the royal treasury; which being a supply which at that time came very conveniently to answer the exigencies of the government, he then obtained great applause for his good conduct in this matter; but afterwards being disgusted, either

[l] Hieronymus, ibid.
[m] 2 Maccabees iv. 44—50.
[n] Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 126.

by some ill treatment from the ministry, or for that his service was not rewarded according to his expectation, [o] he revolted from King Ptolemy, and went over to Antiochus, and delivered the island of Cyprus into his hands. Whereon Antiochus received him with great favour, admitted him [p] into the number of his principal friends, and made him [q] governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and sent [r] Crates, who had been before deputy-governor of the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus, to be chief commander of Cyprus in his stead. Thus much is proper to be said of him in this place, because there will be other occasions to make mention of him in the future series of this history.

About this time, [s] for forty days together, there were seen at Jerusalem in the air, very strange sights of horsemen and footmen armed with shields, spears, and swords, and in great companies, fighting against, and charging each other, as in battle array; which foreboded those calamities of war and desolation which soon after happened to that city and nation. And the like were seen at the same place before the destruction of that city by the Romans. So [t] Josephus tells us, who lived in that time, and attests it to have been vouched to him by such as had been eye-witnesses of the same.

Antiochus, having been making preparations during all the winter for a second expedition into Egypt, as soon as the season of the year would permit, [u] again invaded that country both by sea and land; and having on the frontiers gained [x] another victory over the forces of Ptolemy that were sent thither to oppose him, took Pelusium, and from thence made his way into the heart of the kingdom. In [y] this last overthrow of the Egyptian army, it was in his power to have cut them all off to a man; but, instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the executing of it, riding about the field in person after the victory, to forbid the putting of any more to death; which clemency of his so far reconciled and endeared him to the Egyptians, that, on his further march into the country, they [z] all readily yielded to him, and he

[o] 2 Maccab. x. 13.
[p] 1 Maccab. iii. 38.
[q] 2 Maccab. viii. 8.
[r] 2 Maccab. iv. 29.
[s] 2 Maccab. v. 2, 3.
[t] De Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 12.
[u] 2 Maccab. v. 1.
[x] 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18. Hieronymus in Comment. ad Danielis, cap. xi. 24.
[y] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 311.
[z] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 25.

made himself, with very little trouble, master of Memphis, and all the other parts of Egypt, excepting Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

While Antiochus carried on his last invasion, Philometor came into his hands: whether he were taken prisoner by him, or else voluntarily came in unto him, is not said; the latter seems most likely. For Antiochus took not from him his liberty, but [a] they did eat at the same table, conversed together as friends; and for some time Antiochus pretended to take care of the interest of this young king his nephew, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he had, under this pretence, made himself master of the country, he seized all to himself; and, having miserably pillaged all parts where he came, [b] vastly enriched himself and his army with the spoils of them. During all this time, Philometor [c] conducted himself with a very mean spirit, keeping himself, while in arms, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and never shewing himself in the army that was to fight for him; and afterwards in a slothful cowardice submitting to Antiochus, and suffering himself to be deprived by him of so large a kingdom, without attempting any thing for the preserving of it; which was not so much owing to his want of natural courage or capacity (for he afterwards gave many instances of both,) as to the effeminate education in which he was bred up by his tutor Eulæus. For that wicked eunuch being also his prime minister of state, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury and effeminacy, to make him as unfit for government as he was able, that when he was grown up, he might still be as necessary to him, and have the same power in the kingdom, as he before had in the time of his minority; which is a policy that hath often been practised by wicked ministers towards their princes in their minority, to the vast damage always of the country where it hath happened.

While Antiochus was in Egypt, [d] a false rumour having been spread through all Palestine that he was dead, Jason, thinking this a fit opportunity for him again to recover his station at Jerusalem, which he formerly had there as high

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[a] Hieronymus ad Dan. xi. 25. [b] 1 Maccab. i. 19.

[c] Justin. lib. 34. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 310.

[d] 1 Maccab. i. 20—25. 2 Maccab. v. 5, 6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.

priest, marched thither with above 1000 men; and having, by the assistance of the party he had there, taken the city, and driven Menelaus to flee for shelter into the castle, he acted all manner of cruelties upon his fellow citizens, putting to death, without mercy, as many of those whom he thought his adversaries as he could light upon.

Antiochus, on his being informed of all this in Egypt, supposed that the whole Jewish nation had revolted from him, and therefore [e] marched with all haste out of Egypt into Judea to quell this rebellion; and being told, that the people of Jerusalem made great rejoicings on the news which came to them of his death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore, in a great rage, laying siege to Jerusalem, and [f] taking the city by force, he slew of the inhabitants in three days time 40,000 persons; and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. And, not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it, polluting by his presence both the holy place, and also the holy of holies, the wicked traitor Menelaus being his conductor, and shewing him the way into both. And to offer

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[e] 1 Maccab. i. 20—28. 1 Maccab. v. 11—20. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7. lib. 13. c. 16. De Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 1. Contra Apionem, lib. 2. & in libro de Maccab. c. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 34. Ecloga prima, p. 901. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

[f] That Antiochus at this time took Jerusalem by force, is said by the author of the second book of the Maccabees, c. v. 11. and so also by Diodorus Siculus in the place above cited: but Josephus, in the 12th book of his Antiquities, chap. 7. contrary hereto, tells us, that Antiochus entered the city ἀμαχητί, i. e. *without force*, those of his party within opening the gates to him: but herein he is also contrary to himself: for, in his History of the Jewish war, book 1. chap. 1. he saith, Antiochus took it κατὰ κράτος, i. e. *by force*, and there represents him as enraged by what he had suffered in the siege; and, in the 6th book of the same history, chap. 11. he speaks of those who were slain in this siege, fighting against Antiochus in defence of the place. And, this is not the only place where Josephus is inconsistent with himself, many other instances may be shewn of his giving different accounts of the same matter in different places. He having written his History of the Jewish War and his Antiquities at different times, between those two are most of these differences to be found.

the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner he was able the religion whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings; and broth being by his command made, with some part of the flesh boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple for the utmost defiling of it: and after this, having sacrilegiously plundered it, by taking thence the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of 1800 talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to Antioch, carrying thither with him the spoils of Judea as well as of Egypt; which both together amounted to an immense treasure of riches. On his departure from Jerusalem, for the further vexation of the Jews, [g] he appointed Philip a Phrygian, who was a man of a very cruel and barbarous temper, to be governor of Judea, and Andronicus, another of the like disposition, to be governor of Samaria, and left Menelaus to be still over them in the office of high-priest, who was worse to them than all the rest.

As to Jason [h] on the return of Antiochus out of Egypt, he durst not tarry his coming to Jerusalem, but, on his approach to that place, fled thence for fear of him back again into the land of the Ammonites: but being there accused before Aretas king of the Arabians, whose kingdom reached into that country, he fled from thence also; and after that being forced to shift from place to place, pursued of all men, and hated every where, for his wickedness toward God, his country, and his religion, and finding safety no where in those parts, he was cast out from thence, first into Egypt, and from thence again into Lacedemonia, where he perished in exile and misery, without having any one to give him a burial.

The Alexandrians, [i] finding Philometor to be fallen under the power of Antiochus, and by him in a manner wholly deprived of the crown, looked on him as altogether lost to them; and therefore, having the younger brother with them, they put him on the throne, and made him their king instead of the other; from

Anno 196. Ptol. Philometor 12.

[g] 2 Maccab. v. 22, 23.
[h] 2 Maccab. v. 7—10.
[i] Porphyrius in Græcis. Euseb. Scalig. p. 60, 68.

which time he took the name of Ptolemy Euergetes the second, but afterwards they gave him the name of Physcon, i. e. *the fat guts*, or *great bellied*, by reason of the great and prominent belly which, by his luxury and gluttony, he afterwards acquired; and by this name he is most commonly mentioned by those who have written of him. On his thus ascending the throne, [k] Cineas and Cumanus were made his prime ministers, and to them was committed the care of again restoring the broken affairs of that kingdom.

Antiochus, on his hearing of this, [l] laid hold of the occasion for his making of a third expedition into Egypt, under pretence of restoring the deposed king, but in reality to subject the whole kingdom to himself; and therefore, having [m] vanquished the Alexandrians in a sea fight near Pelusium, he again entered the country with a great army, and marched directly towards Alexandria to lay siege to the place. Whereon the young king, [n] consulting with his two ministers, agreed to call a council of the chief commanders of the army, and, upon advice had with them, pursue such methods for the stemming of the present difficulties as they should direct him unto; who, having accordingly been called and met together, and having thoroughly considered the state of the then present affairs, advised to endeavour an accommodation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors who were then at Alexandria, on embassies from several of the Grecian states to the Egyptian court, should be desired to interpose their mediation for the effecting of it: who, [o] having readily undertaken the matter, forthwith sailed up the river to meet Antiochus, with the proposals of peace which they were entrusted with, taking with them two ambassadors from Ptolemy himself for the same purpose. On their coming to his camp, he received them very kindly; and, having the first day entertained them at a splendid treat, appointed the next day to hear what they had to propose. The Achæans having then first opened the cause on which they were sent, all the rest spoke to it in their turns, and they all agreed in laying the blame of making the war on Eulæus' ill conduct, and the nonage of King Ptolemy Philometor; and on these two heads they apologized as much as they could for the present king, in order to mollify Anti-

[k] Polyb. Legat. 81. p. 907.
[l] Polyb. Legat. 80—82. p. 906, 907. Livius, lib. 44. c. 19.
[m] Livius, ibid.
[n] Polyb. Legat. 81. p. 607. [o] Polyb. Legat. 82. p. 908.

ochus, and bring him to terms of peace with him; and much urged the relation which was between them for a motive to induce him to it. Antiochus, in answer to them, acknowledged all to be true that they had said concerning the cause of the war; and then took the opportunity of setting forth his title to the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, alleging all the arguments for it which have been [p] above mentioned, and producing instruments for the proof of all that he alleged; which he did in such a manner as fully satisfied all that were present of his right to those provinces. And then, as to the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which he said he should be ready to enter into with them about this matter, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should come to him, without whom, he told them, he could do nothing herein; and then went to Naucratis, and from thence to Alexandria, and there laid siege to the place. Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were then shut up in the town, being hereby much distressed, [q] sent ambassadors to the Romans to represent their case, and pray relief. And, a little after, there came ambassadors from the Rhodians, to endeavour to make peace between the two kings, [r] who having landed at Alexandria, and receiving what instructions the ministers of that court would entrust them with, went thence to the camp in which Antiochus lay before the town, and used the best of their endeavours with him to bring him to an accommodation with the Egyptian king, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which they had hitherto enjoyed with both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account, to do the best offices they were able for the making of peace between them. But while they were proceeding in long harangues on these topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and in few words told them, that there was no need of long orations as to this matter; that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had some time since made peace, and was now in perfect friendship with him; that, if they would recal him from banishment, and again restore him to his crown, the war would be at an end. This he said, not that he intended any such thing, but only

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[p] Supra, sub Anno 173.

[q] Polyb. Legat. 90. p. 915. Livius, lib. 44. c. 19. Justin. lib. 34. c. 2.

[r] Polyb. Legat. 84. p. 909.

out of craft further to embroil the kingdom, for the better obtaining of his own ends upon it; for, [s] finding he could make no work of it at Alexandria, but that he must be forced to raise the siege, the scheme which he had now laid for the compassing of his designs, was to put the two brothers together by the ears, and engage them in a war against each other, that, when they had by intestine broils wasted and spent their strength, he might come upon them, while thus weakened and spent, and swallow both. And, [s] with this view having withdrawn from Alexandria, he marched to Memphis, and there seemingly again restored the whole kingdom to Philometor, excepting only Pelusium which he retained in his hands, that, having this key of Egypt still in his keeping, he might thereby again enter Egypt, when matters should there, according to the scheme which he had laid, be ripe for it, and so seize the whole kingdom; and, having thus disposed matters, he returned again to Antioch.

Ptolemy Philometor, now roused from his luxurious sloth by the misfortunes which he had suffered in these revolutions, had penetration enough to see into what Antiochus intended. His [t] keeping of Pelusium was a sufficient indication unto him, that he held this gate of Egypt still in his power, only to enter through it again when he and his brother should have wasted themselves so far by their domestic feuds, as not to be able to resist him, and so make a prey of both. And therefore, for the preventing of this, as soon as Antiochus was gone, he sent to his brother to invite him to an accommodation; and, by the means of Cleopatra, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms that the two brothers should jointly reign together. Whereon, Philometor returning to Alexandria, peace was restored to Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the people, especially of the Alexandrians, who greatly suffered by the war: but, the two brothers being aware that Antiochus would return again upon them, [u] sent ambassadors into Greece to get auxiliary forces from thence for their defence against him; and they had reason enough so to do. For Antiochus hearing of this agreement of the two brothers, and finding his fine-spun scheme of policy, whereby he thought to have made himself master of Egypt,

[s] Livius, lib. 45. c. 11.

[t] Livius, lib. 45. c. 11. Justin. lib. 34. c. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. p. 60. & in Eusebii Chronicon, p. 68.

[u] Polybius, Legat. 89. p. 912.

wholly baffled by it, [x] he fell into a great rage, and resolved to carry on the war against both the brothers with greater force and fury than he had against either of them before.

And therefore, [y] very early the next spring, he sent a fleet to Cyprus to secure that island to him; and, at the same time, in person marched by land with a numerous army to make another invasion upon Egypt; in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom. On his coming to Rhinocorura, he was there met by ambassadors from Philometor, by whom that prince, having acknowledged his restoration to his kingdom to be owing to him, desired him that he would not destroy his own work, but permit him peaceably to enjoy the crown which he wore by his favour. But Antiochus not at all regarding the compliment, but waving all those pretences of favour and affection for either of his nephews which he had hitherto made shew of, now plainly declared himself an enemy to both, telling the ambassadors, that he demanded the island of Cyprus, and the city of Pelusium, with all the lands that lay on that branch of the Nile on which Pelusium stood, to be yielded to him in perpetuity; and that he would on no other terms give peace to either of the brothers; and, having set them a day for their giving him an answer to this demand, as soon as that day was over, and no answer returned to his satisfaction, he again invaded Egypt with a numerous army; and, having subdued all the country as far as Memphis, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards Alexandria for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom; and this most certainly he would have accomplished, but that he met a Roman embassy in his way, which put a stop to his further progress, and totally dashed all the designs which he had been so long carrying on for the making of himself master of that country.

Anno 168. Ptol. Philometor 13.

I have mentioned before, how Ptolemy Euergetes, the younger of the two brothers, and Cleopatra his sister, being distressed by the former siege which Antiochus had laid to Alexandria, sent ambassadors to the Romans to pray their relief. These [z] being introduced into the senate, did there in a lamentable habit, and with a more lamentable oration, set

[x] Livius, lib. 45. c. 11. [y] Livius, ibid. [z] Livius, lib. 44. c. 19.

forth their case, and, in the humblest manner prostrating themselves before that assembly, prayed their help; with which the senate being moved, and having [a] considered also, how much it was their own interest not to permit Antiochus to grow so great, as the annexing of Egypt to Syria would make him, decreed to send an embassy into Egypt to put an end to this war. The persons they appointed for it were Caius Popilius Lænas (who had been consul four years before,) Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius. Their commission was first to go to Antiochus, and after that to Ptolemy, and to signify to them, that it was the desire of the senate, that they should desist from making any further war upon each other; and that, if either of them should refuse so to do, him the Roman people would no longer hold to be either their friend or their ally. And, that these ambassadors might come soon enough to execute their instructions before Antiochus should make himself master of Egypt, they were dispatched away in that haste, that within three days after they left Rome, and taking with them the Egyptian ambassadors, they hastened to Brandusium, and there passing over to the Grecian shore, from thence by the way of Chalcis, Delos, and Rhodes, came to Alexandria, just as Antiochus was making that second march to besiege this city, which I have mentioned. On his arrival at Leusine, a place within four miles of Alexandria, the ambassadors there met him. On the sight of Popilius (with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship and familiarity while he was an hostage at Rome,) he put forth his hand to embrace him as his old friend and acquaintance; but Popilius, refusing the compliment, told him, that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship; that he must first know whether he were a friend or an enemy to the Roman state, before he could own him as a friend to himself; and then delivered into his hands the tables, in which were written the decree of the senate which they came to communicate to him, and required him to read it, and forthwith give his answer thereto. Antiochus, having read the decree, told Popilius he would consult with his friends about it, and speedily give him the answer they should advise; but [b] Popilius, insisting on an im-

[a] Polyb. Legat. 90. p. 915. Livius, ibid.

[b] Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 916. Livius, lib. 45. c. 11, 12. Justin. lib. 34. c. 3. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 4. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1. c. 10. Plutarch. in Apothegm. c. 32. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

mediate answer, forthwith drew a circle round him in the sand with the staff which he had in his hand, and required him to give his answer before he stirred out of that circle; at which strange and peremptory way of proceeding Antiochus being startled, after a little hesitation yielded to it, and told the ambassador, that he would obey the command of the senate; whereon Popilius, accepting his embraces, acted thenceforth according to his former friendship with him. That which made him so bold as to act with him after this peremptory manner, and the other so tame as to yield thus patiently to it, was the news which they had a little before received of the great victory of the Romans, which they had gotten over Perseus king of Macedonia. For, Paulus Æmilius having now vanquished that king, and thereby added Macedonia to the Roman empire, the name of the Romans after this carried that weight with it, as created a terror in all the neighbouring nations; so that none of them after this cared to dispute their commands, but were glad on any terms to maintain peace and cultivate a friendship with them. After Popilius had thus sent Antiochus back again into Syria, [c] he returned with his colleagues to Alexandria; and, having there ratified and fully fixed the terms of agreement which had been before, but not so perfectly, made between the two brothers, he sailed to Cyprus; and having sent from thence Antiochus' fleet, as he had him and his army before from Egypt, and caused a thorough restoration of that island to be made to the Egyptian kings, to whom it of right belonged, he returned home to relate to the senate the full success of his embassy; and ambassadors followed him from the two Ptolemys to thank the senate for the great benefit they had received from it; for to this embassy they owed their kingdom, and that peaceable enjoyment whereby they were now settled in it.

Antiochus returning out of Egypt in great [d] wrath and indignation, because of the baffle which he had there met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, he vented it all upon the Jews, who had no way offended him. For, on his marching back through Palestine, [e] he detached

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[c] Polyb. Legat. 92. p. 196. & Livius, lib. 45. c. 11, 12.
[d] Polyb. ibid.
[e] 1 Maccab. i. 29—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

off from his army 22,000 men, under the command of Apollonius, who was over the tribute, and sent them to Jerusalem to destroy the place.

It was [f] just two years after Antiochus had taken Jerusalem that Apollonius came thither with his army. On his first arrival he carried himself peaceably, concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next sabbath; but then, [g] when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues, for the celebrating of the religious duties of the day, thinking this the properest time for the executing of his bloody commission, he let loose all his forces upon them, with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women and children to sell them for slaves; which they executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on, without shewing mercy to any, and filling the streets with their blood. After this, having spoiled the city of all its riches, they set it on fire in several places, demolished the houses, and pulled down the walls round about it; and then, with the ruins of the demolished city, built a strong fortress on the top of an eminence in the city of David, which was over against the temple, and over-looked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong garrison; and, making it a place of arms against the whole nation of the Jews, stored it with all manner of provisions of war, and there also they laid up the spoils which they had taken in the sacking of the city. And this fortress, by the advantage of its situation, being thus higher than the mountain of the temple, and commanding the same, from thence the garrison soldiers fell on all those that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions; so that from this time the temple became deserted, and the daily sacrifices omitted; and none of the true servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, [h] till Judas, after three years and an half, having recovered it out of the hands of the Heathens, purged the place of its pollutions, and, by a new dedication, restored it again to its pristine use. For [i] all that escaped this carnage, being fled from

[f] 1 Maccab. i. 29.

[g] 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

[h] Josephus in Præfatione ad Hist. de Bello Judaico, & ejusdem Hist. lib. 5. c. 1. & lib. 6. c. 11. 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. x.

[i] 1 Maccab. i. 38, 39.

Jerusalem, left that place wholly in the hands of strangers; so that the sanctuary was laid waste, and the whole city desolated of its natural inhabitants. At this time [k] Judas Maccabæus, with some others that accompanied him, fled into the wilderness, and there lived in great hardship, subsisting themselves upon herbs, and what else the mountains and the woods could afford them, till they gained an opportunity of taking up arms for themselves and their country, in manner as will be hereafter related. Josephus [l] makes Antiochus himself to be present at this execution, and confounds what was now done by Apollonius with what himself did in his own person two years before: but the books of the Maccabees rightly distinguished these two actions as done at two different times, the one by Antiochus himself, after his second expedition into Egypt, and the other by Apollonius his lieutenant, sent by him for this purpose on his return from his fourth and last expedition into that country two years after, and hereby both are put in their true light.

This was done about the time of the year in which our Whitsuntide now falls. Livy [m] tells us, that Antiochus made this his last expedition into Egypt *primo vere, i. e.* in the first beginning of the spring; and that the Roman ambassadors met him before he could in that march reach Alexandria, which could not be above a month or six weeks after his first entering into that country in this expedition; and, immediately on his meeting those ambassadors, he was forced to march back again, and in that march might reach Palestine about the end of May; and then Apollonius, being sent with his commission for the desolating of the city and temple of Jerusalem, there executed it, as above related, in the beginning of June following. For that desolation of the temple happened [n] just three years and six months before it was again restored by Judas Maccabæus, as hath been already said; and therefore, that restoration having been made [o] on the 25th day of the ninth month of the Jews, called Cisleu, in the 148th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, it must follow, that the time of this desolation must have been on or about the 25th day of their third month, called Sivan, in the æra of

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[k] 2 Maccab. v. 27. [l] Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

[m] Lib. 45. c. 11.

[n] Josephus in Præfatione ad Historiam de Bello Judaico, & in ejusdem Historia, lib. 1. c. 1. & lib. 6. c. 11.

[o] 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 52—54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

the Seleucidæ 145, which answers to the æra before Christ 168, under which I have placed it. And the Jewish month Sivan answering in part to the month of May, and in part to the month of June, in the Julian kalendar, the 25th of that month must happen near or about the time of our Whitsuntide, as I have said; and then it was, that, by the command of Antiochus, and the wicked agency of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation.

And this was not all the mischief that was done that people this year. For, as soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, [p] he issued out a decree, that all nations within his dominions, leaving their former rites and usages, should conform to the religion of the king, and worship the same gods, and in the same manner as he did; which, although couched in general terms, was levelled mainly against the Jews, that thereby an handle might be afforded for the further oppressing of that people; and it seems for no other end to have been extended to all the nations of the Syrian empire, but that thereby it might reach all of the Jewish worship, wherever they were dispersed among them, it being resolved by Antiochus, through the advice [q] of Ptolemy Macron, to carry on this persecution, not only against the Jews of Palestine, but against all others of that religion who were settled any where else within his dominions. And this indeed was most conformable to his intention, his design being to cut off all of them, wherever they were, within his reach, that would not conform to his decree, by apostatising from their God and his law, that so he might, as far as in him lay, extinguish both the Jewish religion and the Jewish name and nation at the same time. And, for the more effectual executing of this decree, [r] he sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire, to see to the observance of it, and to instruct the people in all the rites which they were to conform to. And [s] all the Heathen nations readily obeyed his commands herein, one sort of idolatry being as acceptable to them as another; and none did more readily run into this change than the Samaritans. [t] As long as the Jews

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[p] 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 1. & lib. de Maccab. c. 4. Hieronymus in Danielis cap. viii. & cap. xi.

[q] 2 Maccab. vi. 8.

[r] 1 Maccab. i. 51.

[s] 1 Maccab. i. 42.

[t] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

were in prosperity, it was their usage to challenge kindred with them, and profess themselves to be of the stock of Israel, and of the sons of Joseph. But, when the Jews were under any calamity or persecution, then they would say, that they had nothing to do with them, that they were of the race of the Medes and Persians, (as in truth they were,) and not of the Israelites, and would thus utterly disown all manner of relation to them; of which they gave a very signal instance at this time. For, finding the Jews under so severe a persecution, and fearing lest they also might be involved in it, they addressed themselves to the king by a petition; wherein having set forth, that, though their forefathers had formerly, for the avoiding of frequent plagues that happened in their country, been induced to observe the sabbaths and other religious rites of the Jews, and had on Mount Gerizim a temple like theirs at Jerusalem, and therein sacrificed to a god [u] without a name, as they did, and, through the superstition of an ancient custom, they had ever since gone on in the same way, yet they were not of that nation, or were any way related to them, but were descended from the Sidonians, and were ready to conform to all the rites and usages of the Greeks, according as the king had commanded: they therefore prayed, that, seeing the king had ordered the punishing of that wicked people, they might not be involved with them therein as guilty with them of the same crimes. And they further petitioned, that their temple, which had hitherto been dedicated to no especial deity, might thenceforth be made the temple of the Grecian Jupiter, and be so called for the future. To which petition Antiochus having given a favourable answer, sent his order to [x] Nicanor, the deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, according to their desire, and no more to give them any molestation.

And the Samaritans were not the only apostates that forsook their God and his law on this trial. [y] Many of the Jews,

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[u] For Jehovah, which was the proper name of the God of Israel, was among them ἀπόῤῥητος, that is, never to be spoken, unless once in a year by the high priest, on his entering into the holy of holies on the great day of expiation; and hence it is said to be a god without a name.

[x] One Apollonius was then governor of Samaria, and Nicanor was his deputy. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 10. 1 Maccab. iii. 10.

[y] 1 Maccab. i. 43—52. vi. 21—27.

either to avoid the persecution, or to curry favour with the king and his officers, by their compliance, or else, out of their own wicked inclinations, did the same thing. And there were hereon great fallings away in Israel, and many of those who were guilty herein, joining with the king's forces then in the land, became [z] much bitterer enemies to their brethren than any of the Heathen themselves who were sent of purpose to persecute them.

The overseer, who was sent to see this decree of the king's executed in Judea and Samaria, was [a] one Athenæus, an old man, who, being well versed in all the rites of the Grecian idolatry, was thought a very proper person to initiate those people into the observance of them. On his coming to Jerusalem, and there executing his commission, [b] all sacrifices to the God of Israel were made to cease, all the observances of the Jewish religion were suppressed, the temple itself was polluted, and made unfit for God's worship, their sabbaths and festivals were profaned, their children forbidden to be circumcised, and their law wherever it could be found, was taken away or destroyed, and the ordinances which God commanded them were wholly suppressed throughout the land, and every one was put to death that was discovered in any of these particulars to have acted against what the king had decreed. The Syrian soldiers under this overseer were the chief missionaries, and by them this conversion of the Jews to the king's religion was effected in the same manner as a late neighbouring prince converted his Protestant subjects to the idolatrous superstition of Rome, which falls very little short of being altogether as bad. Having thus expelled the Jewish worship out of the temple, they introduced thither the Heathen in its stead, and, consecrating it to the chief of their false gods, called it [c] *the temple of Jupiter Olympius*; and, having erected his image upon one part of the altar of Hollocaust, that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part of it, just before that image, they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him. This was done [d] on the 15th day of the Jewish month Cisleu, which answers in part to November and in part to December in our kalendar;

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[z] 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 7.

[a] 2 Maccab. vi. 1.

[b] 1 Maccab. i. 44—64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 1. de Maccab. c. 4.

[c] 2 Maccab. vi. 2. [d] 1 Maccab. i. 54.

and [e] on the 25th day of the same month they there began their sacrifices to him. And they did the same [f] to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, consecrating it to the same Grecian god Jupiter, by the name of *Jupiter the Protector of strangers*. That it was the request of the Samaritans themselves to have their temple consecrated to the Grecian Jupiter hath been already shewn; and it was also [g] at their desire that it was consecrated to him under this additional title of *Protector of strangers*, that thereby it might be expressed, that they were strangers in that land, and not of the race of Israel, who were the old inhabitants of it. And, whereas [h] two women were found at Jerusalem to have circumcised their male children, of which they had been lately delivered, they hanged those children about their necks, and, having led them in this manner through the city, cast them headlong over the steepest part of the walls, and also slew all those who had been accessory with them in the performance of this forbidden rite. And with the same severity they treated all others who were found in the practice of any one of their former religious usages, contrary to what the king had commanded. And, the more to propagate among the people that Heathen worship which was enjoined, and to bring all to conform thereto, [i] they did set up altars, groves, and chapels, of idols in every city; and officers [k] were sent to them, who, on the day of the king's birth, in every month, forced all to offer sacrifices to the Grecian gods, and [l] eat of the flesh of swine, and other unclean beasts then sacrificed to them. And when the feast of Bacchus, the god of drunkenness, came, and processions were made as usual, among the Heathen Greeks, to the honour of that abominable deity, the Jews [m] were forced to join therein, and carry [n] ivy, as the rest of the Heathens did, according to the idolatrous usage of the day.

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[e] 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

[f] 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

[g] 2 Maccab. vi. 2.

[h] 1 Maccab. i. 60, 62, 63. 2 Maccab. vi. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

[i] 1 Maccab. i. 47.

[k] 1 Maccab. i. 51, 58. ii. 15.

[l] 1 Maccab. i. 47. Diodor. Sic. lib. 34. eclog. 1.

[m] 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

[n] Ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and therefore the Bacchanals always carried it in their processions.

When these officers were thus sent to make all Judea conform to the king's religion, and sacrifice to his gods [o] one of them, called Apelles, came to Modin, where dwelt Mattathias, a priest of the course [p] of Joarib, a very honourable person, and one truly zealous for the law of his God. He was [q] the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmoneans, and he had with him five sons, all very valiant men, and equally with himself zealous observers of the law of their God; Johanan, called Kaddis, Simon, called Thassi, Judas, called Maccabæus, Eleazar, called Avaran, and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus. [r] Appelus, on his coming to this city, having called the people together, and declared unto them for what intent he was come, addressed himself, in the first place, to Mattathias, to persuade him to comply with the king's commands, that, by the example of so honourable and great a man, all the rest of the people of the place might be induced to do the same; promising him, that thereon he should be taken into the number of the king's friends, and he and his sons should be promoted to honour and riches. To this Mattathias answered with a loud voice, in the hearing of all the people of the place, that no consideration whatsoever should induce him, or any of his family, ever to forsake the law of their God; but that they would still walk in the covenant which he had made with their forefathers, and observe all the ordinances of it, and that no commands of the king should make any of them to depart herefrom. And when he had said thus much, seeing one of the Jews of the place presenting himself at the Heathen altar which was there erected, to sacrifice on it, according to the king's commands, he was moved hereat with a religious zeal, like that of Phineas, and ran upon the apostate and slew him; and then, in the heat of his wrath, fell also on the king's commissioner, and by the assistance of his sons, and others that joined with them, slew him and all that attended him. And after this, getting together all of his family, and calling all others to follow who were zealous for the law, he retired with them to the moun-

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[o] 1 Maccab. ii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12.

[p] The course of Joarib was the first of the 24 courses of the priests that served in the temple, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

[q] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.

[r] 1 Maccab. ii. 15—28.

tains; and [s] many others followed the same example, whereby the deserts of Judea became filled with those who fled from this persecution. One company of them, to the number of 1000 persons, being gotten into a cave in the desert that lay nearest to Jerusalem, Philip the Phrygian, [t] whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea and Jerusalem, on his last being there [u] went out against them with his forces. At first he endeavoured to persuade them to a submission to the king's commands, promising them, on this condition, a thorough impunity for what was past: but they all resolutely answering, that they would rather die than forsake the law of their God, he thereon laid siege to the cave which they had possessed themselves of, omitting all other hostilities till the next sabbath, expecting them to master them without resistance, and so it accordingly happened. For they then refusing, out of an over-scrupulous zeal for the observance of that day, to do any thing for their own defence, when fallen on by the enemy, were all cut off, men, women, and children, without one being spared of the whole company. Mattathias and his followers being much grieved at the hearing of this, and considering that, if they should follow the same example, they must all of them in the same manner be destroyed, on full debate had among them of the matter, they all [x] came into this resolution, that the law of the sabbath in such a case of necessity did not bind; and therefore they unanimously decreed, that, whenever they should be assaulted on the sabbath day, they would fight for their lives, and that it was lawful for them so to do: and, having ratified this decree, by the consent of all the priests and elders among them, they sent it to all others who stood out in the observance of the law, wherever dispersed through the land; by whom it being received with the like consent and approbation, it was made their rule in all the wars which they afterwards waged against any of their enemies.

Anno 167. Ptol. Philometor 14.

Antiochus, [y] hearing that his commands did not meet with such a thorough conformity to them in Judea as in other places, came thither in person further to enforce the observance of them; and, for the accomplishing hereof, executed very great cruelties on all

[s] 1 Maccab. ii. 29, 30. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.
[t] 2 Maccab. v. 22.
[u] 1 Maccab. ii. 31—38. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Josephus, ibid.
[x] 1 Maccab. ii. 40, 41. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.
[y] Josephus de Maccab. c. 4, 5.

non-apostatising Jews that fell into his hands, hoping thereby to terrify all the rest into a compliance; and on this occasion happened the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother and her seven sons, which we have described to us by [z] the author of the second book of the Maccabees, and by [a] Josephus; by both of which a full account having been given of this matter, especially by the latter, who had written a book particularly hereof, I refer the reader to them. Ruffinus, in his Latin paraphrase of this book of Josephus concerning the Maccabees, gives us [b] the names of the seven brothers and their mother, and tells us, that as well they as Eleazar were carried from Judea to Antioch, and that it was there that they were judged by Antiochus, but without any authority that we know of for either, except his own invention. The reason of the thing, as well as the tenor of the history, which is given us of it by both the authors I have mentioned, make it much more likely that Jerusalem, and not Antioch, was made the scene of this cruelty; and that especially, since, it being designed for an example of terror unto the Jews of Judea, it would have lost its force if executed any where else than in that country.

In the interim, Mattathias and his company lay close [c] in the fastnesses of the mountains, where no easy access could be made to them; and, as soon as Antiochus was again returned to Antioch, great numbers of such as were adherers to the law, there [d] resorted to him to fight for the law of their God, and the liberties of their country. Among these, there were a company [e] of Asidæans, men mighty in valour, and of great zeal for the law, as having voluntarily devoted themselves to a more rigid observation of it than other men, from whence they had the name of Chasidim, or Asidæans. For, after the settling of the Jewish church again in Judea, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, there were [f] two sorts of men among the members of it; the one who contented themselves with that only which was written in the law of Moses, and these were called *Zadikim*, i. e. *the righteous*; and the other,

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[z] Chap. vi. & vii.

[a] In libro de Maccab. sive de Imperio Rationis.

[b] Their names, according to Ruffinus, were Maccabæus, Abner, Macchir, Judas, Achas, Areth, and Jacob, and their mother's name Solomona, but the latter Jewish historians call her Hanna.

[c] 1 Maccab. ii. 28, 29. [d] 1 Maccab. ii. 43, 44.

[e] 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

[f] Vide Grotium in Comment. ad 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

who, over and above the law, [g] superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which, by way of supererogation, they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and these, being reckoned in a degree of holiness above the others, were called *Chasidim*, i. e. *the pious*. From the former of them were derived the sects of the Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaits, and from the latter the Pharisees and the Essenes. Of all which a fuller account will be given in the place proper for it. Of these Chasidim were those Asidæans (or Chasidæans, for [h] so it ought to be written) who joined Mattathias on this occasion, and he was much strengthened by them: for to fight zealously for their religion, and the defence of the temple and its worship, was one of those main points of piety which they had devoted themselves to.

Mattathias having thus gotten such a company together, as made the appearance of a small army, [i] came out of his fastnesses, and took the field with them; and, going round the cities of Judah, he pulled down all the Heathen altars, caused all male children whom he found any where without circumcision to be circumcised, cut off all apostates that fell into his hands, and destroyed all the persecutors wherever he came. And, thus going on, he prospered in the work of purging the land of the idolatry which the persecutors had imposed upon it, and again re-established [k] the true worship of God in its former state in all the places where he prevailed. For, having [l] recovered several copies of the law out of the hands of the Heathen, he restored the service of the synagogue, and caused it again to be read therein, as before used to be done. When Antiochus issued out his decree for the suppressing of the Jewish religion, one main instruction given his agents for this purpose, was, every where to [m] take away and suppress the law

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[g] Vide Josephi Scaligeri Elenchum Trihæresii Nicolai Seraii, c. 22.

[h] For the word in the Hebrew is written with the letter Cheth, which answers to our ch; and, by the translators of the Hebrew text, is sometimes expressed in Greek by an aspirate, and in Latin by the letter H, and sometimes is left wholly out, as in the word Asidæans.

[i] 1 Maccab. ii. 44, 45, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.

[k] That is, the synagogue worship; for the temple worship was still obstructed, by reason that the temple was still in the hands of the Heathen.

[l] 1 Maccab. ii. 48.

[m] 1 Maccab. ii. 56, 57. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

of Moses: for that being the rule of their religion, were that taken away, he thought the religion itself must necessarily cease with it. And therefore orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the law to deliver them up; and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterwards found retaining any of them. And by this means the persecutors got into their hands all the copies of the law which were in the land, excepting only such as those who fled into the deserts carried with them thither. For all others were forced to deliver them up unto them: and, when they had gotten them, some they destroyed, and the others, which they thought to preserve, [a] they polluted, by painting on them the pictures of their gods, that so they might no more be of use to any true Israelite: for their pictures were [o] forbidden by the law of God, as much as their images, and to have either of them was equally esteemed an abomination among that people. But this order of persecution extending only to the five books of Moses, and not to the writings of the prophets, those who persisted still in the Jewish worship, instead of the lessons which had hitherto, from the time of Ezra, been read out of the law on every sabbath, did read like portions out of the prophets; and, upon this occasion, the public reading of the prophets was first introduced into their synagogues; and, it being thus introduced, it continued there ever after. And therefore, when the persecution was over, and the reading of the law was again restored in their synagogues, the prophets were also there read with it; and, instead of the one lesson which was there read before, they thenceforth had two, the first out of the law, and the second out of the prophets, as hath been already observed [p] in the first part of this history. All those copies of the law which the Heathens had gotten into their hands on this occasion, and had not destroyed, Mattathias, wherever he came, made diligent search for, and thereby recovered several of them. Those which the Heathens had not polluted were restored to their pristine use; the others might serve for the writing out of other copies by them, but were judged unfit for all other uses,

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[a] 1 Maccab. iii. 48.

[o] Levit. xxvi. 1. Numb. xxxiii. 52. For, whereas, in the place in Leviticus here cited, the English translators render it any image of stone, the Hebrew original is any stone of picture; and so it is noted in the margin at that place, by which the Jews understand stones painted with pictures.

[p] Book v.

by reason of their idol pictures painted on them, the Jews being as scrupulous of avoiding alll appearances of idolatry after the Babylonish captivity, as they were prone to run into it before.

But Mattathias, being very aged, was soon worn out with the fatigues of this warfare, and therefore died the next year after he had first entered on it. The author of the first book of Maccabees placeth his death, [q] in the 146th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, that is, of the æra of the Seleucidæ, the latter end of which was the beginning of the 166th Julian year before Christ. For the Julian year beginning from the first of January, and the years of the æra of the Seleucidæ, according to the first book of the Maccabees, from the first of Nisan, which fell in our March, the months intervening were in the latter end of the one and in the beginning of the other. Before his death, [r] he called his five sons together; and, having exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the law of God, and, with a steady constancy and courage, to fight the battles of Israel against the present persecutors, he appointed Judas to be their captain in his stead, and Simon to be their counsellor; and then, giving up the ghost, was buried at Modin, in the sepulchres of his forefathers, and great lamentation was made for him by all the faithful in Israel.

Anno 166. Judas Maccabæus 1.

But this loss was sufficiently compensated by the succession of Judas Maccabæus, his son, in the same station. For, as soon as his father's funeral was over, [s] he stood up in his stead; and, according as appointed by him, took on him the chief command of those forces which he had with him at his death; and his brothers, and all others that were zealous for the law, resorted to him, till they had made up the number of an army: whereon he erected his standard, and led them forth under it to fight the battles of Israel, against their common enemies, the Heathens that oppressed them. His motto in that standard being this Hebrew sentence taken out of Exodus xv. 11. *Mi Camo-ka Baelim Jehovah*, i. e. Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah; and it not being wrote thereon in words at length, but by an abbreviation formed by [t] the initial letters

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[q] 1 Maccab. ii. 70.

[r] 1 Maccab. ii. 19—70. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 8.

[s] 1 Maccab. iii. 1. 2 Mac. viii. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 9.

[t] Thus *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, was expressed on the Roman standards and ensigns by the initial letters of these words, *S. P. Q. R.*

of these words put together, which made the artificial word Maccabi, [u] hence all that fought under that standard were called Maccabees, or Maccabæans; and he in an especial manner, [x] had the name above the rest by way of eminence, who was the captain of them; and thus to abbreviate sentences, and names of many words, by putting together the initial letters of those words, and making out of them an artificial word to express the whole, hath been a common practice among the Jews. Thus among them [y] Rambam is the name of *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*, and [z] Ralbag is the name of *Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson*, because the initial letters of the four words, of which these names do consist, when put together, make those artificial words; and it is common to call these persons by them. And abbreviations made this way, both of whole sentences, as well as of names, do so frequently occur in all their books, that there is no understanding of them without a key to explain these abbreviations by; and therefore Buxtorf, for the help of students in the Hebrew learning, hath written a book of purpose to explain these abbreviations, which is entitled *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis*, wherein hundreds of instances may be seen of this kind. Ruffinus having given names to the seven brothers that suffered martyrdom together under Antiochus, as hath been above mentioned, calls the eldest of them Maccabæus; and therefore from him some would derive this name of the Maccabees to all that are called by it. But with how little authority Ruffinus gives to those brothers the names which he mentions hath been already observed. It is most probable this name had no other original than that which I have mentioned. But in its use it did not rest only on those to whom it was first given. For, not only Judas and his brethren were called Maccabees, but the name was extended in after-times to all those who joined with them in the same cause, and not only to them, but also to all others [a] who suf-

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[u] Vide Grotium in Præfatione ad Comment. in primum librum Maccab. & Buxtorfium de Abbreviaturis, p. 132. aliosque.

[x] 1 Maccab. ii. 4.

[y] Buxtorfium de Abbreviaturis, p. 186.

[z] Idem in eodem Libro, p. 185.

[a] Scaliger in Animadversionibus in Chronologica Euseb. No. 1853. p. 143. ubi dicit, 'Omnes qui, ob legis observationem, excruciati, cæsi, & male tractati sunt, a veteribus Christianis dicuntur Maccabæi, ut qui propter Christum, dicti martyres.'

fered in the like cause under any of the Grecian kings, whether of Syria or Egypt, although some of them lived long before them. For those who suffered under Ptolemy Philopater at Alexandria, 50 years before, were afterwards called Maccabees; and so were Eleazar, and the mother and her seven sons, though they suffered before Judas erected his standard with the motto above mentioned. And therefore, as those books which give us the history of Judas and his brothers, and their wars against the Syrian kings, in defence of their religion and their liberties, are called the first and second books of the Maccabees; so that book which gives us the history of those, who, in the like cause, under Ptolemy Philopater, were exposed to his elephants at Alexandria, is called the third book of the Maccabees, and that which is written by Josephus of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and the seven brothers and their mother, is called the fourth book of the Maccabees. Of the two latter I have already given an account. The two others are those which we have in our Bibles among the apocrypha.

The first of them, which is a very accurate and excellent history, and comes the nearest to the style and manner of the sacred historical writings of any extant, was written originally in Chaldee language of the Jerusalem dialect; which was the language spoken in Judea from the return of the Jews thither from the Babylonish captivity. And it was extant in this language in the time of Jerom, for [b] he tells us, that he had seen it. The title which it then bore was [c] *Sharbet Sar Bene El*, i. e. *The sceptre of the Prince of the sons of God*, a title which well suited Judas, who was so valiant a commander of God's people then under persecution. The author of it, some conjecture, was John Hyrcanus the son of Simon, who was prince and high priest of the Jews near 30 years, and began his government at the time where this history ends. It is most likely it was composed in his time, when those wars of the Maccabees were over, either by him, or else by some others employed by him. For it reacheth no further than where his government begins, and therefore in the time immediately following it seems most likely to have been composed; and public records being made use of, and referred to in this history, this makes it very probable, that it was composed under the direction of some public authority. From the Chaldee it was translated into Greek,

[b] In Prologo Galeato.

[c] Origines in Comment. ad Psalmos, vol. 1. p. 47. editionis Huetianæ. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 25.

and after that a translation was made of it from the Greek into Latin; and we have our English version from the same Greek fountain. Theodotion is conjectured to have first translated it into Greek; but it seems most probable, that this version was ancienter, because of the use made of it by authors as ancient, as by [d] Tertullian, [e] Origen, and others.

The second book of the Maccabees consists of several pieces compiled together, by what author is utterly uncertain. It begins with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt, to exhort them to the observing of the feast of the dedication of the new altar erected by Judas, on his purifying of the temple, which was celebrated on the 25th day of their month Cisleu. The first of them was written [f] in the 169th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, (*i. e.* in the year before Christ 144,) and, beginning at the first verse of the first chapter, endeth at the ninth verse of the same chapter inclusively. And the second was written [g] in the 188th year of the same æra, (*i. e.* in the year before Christ 125,) and, beginning at the tenth verse of the same chapter, endeth with the 18th verse of the second chapter. Both these epistles seem to be spurious, wherever the compiler of this book picked them up. The first of them calls the feast of the dedication, Σκηνοπηγίαν ἐν Κασλεῦ; that is, *the feast of making tabernacles, or booths, in Cisleu*, which is very improper. For although they might, during that solemnity, carry some wintergreens in their hands to express their rejoicing, yet they could not then make such booths as in the feast of tabernacles; because, the month Cisleu falling in the middle of winter, they could not then lie abroad in such booths, nor find green boughs enough to make them. And as to the second epistle, it is not only written in the name of Judas Maccabæus who was slain 36 years before, but also contains such fabulous and absurd stuff, as could never have been written by the great council of the Jews assembled at Jerusalem for the whole nation, as this pretends to be. What followeth after this last epistle, to the end of the chapter, is the preface of the author to his abridgement of his history of Jason, which beginning from the first verse of the third chapter, is carried on to the end of the 37th verse of the last chapter; and the two next verses that follow to the end, are the author's conclusion of the whole

[d] Adversus Judæos, p. 210. Edit. Rigalt. 2.
[e] Origenes, ibid. & alibi.
[f] 2 Maccab. i. 7. [g] 2 Maccab. i. 10.

work. This Jason, the abridgement of whose history makes the main of this book, was an Hellenist Jew of Cyrene, of the race of those Jews [h] whom Ptolemy Soter sent thither, as hath been [h] afore related. He [i] wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and of the purification of the temple at Jerusalem, and the dedication of the altar, and the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son, in five books. These five books the author [i] abridged, and of this abridgement, and the other particulars above mentioned, compiled the whole book in the same Greek language, and this proves that author to have been an Hellenist also, and most likely he was of Alexandria; which one expression in the book, and there more than once occurring, seems very strongly to prove. For there, in speaking of the temple of Jerusalem, he calls it the [k] great temple, which cannot there be understood to be said otherwise than by way [l] of contradistinction from another temple which was lesser; and that could be none other than the temple built in Egypt by Onias, which will be hereafter spoken of. This the Jews of Egypt did acknowledge as a daughter temple to that of Jerusalem, still retaining the prime honour to that as the mother temple; and therefore very properly the temple at Jerusalem might be called the great temple by them, in that they had a lesser, but not by any other Jews. For none others of them acknowledged this temple in Egypt at all, or any other but that at Jerusalem only, but looked on all those as schismatics that sacrificed any where else. And therefore none but an Egyptian Jew, who acknowledged the lesser temple in Egypt, as well as the greater temple at Jerusalem, could thus express himself, as is above mentioned; and consequently none but an Egyptian Jew could be the author of this book. And of all the Egyptian Jews, the Alexandrian being the most polite and learned, this makes it most likely that there this book was composed. But this second book of the Maccabees doth by no means equal the accurateness and excellency of the first. There are, in the Polyglot Bibles both of Paris and London, Syriac versions of both these books, but they are both of them of a later date, and made from the Greek, though they are observed in some places to differ from it. And from the

[h] See part I. book 8. under the year 320.
[i] 2 Maccab. ii. 19—24.
[k] 2 Maccab. ii. 19. xiv. 13.
[l] It is in Greek, τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ, 2 Maccab. ii. 19.

same Greek are also made the English versions of both these books which we have among the apocryphal writers in our Bibles.

Antiochus, [m] hearing that Paulus Æmilius, the Roman general, after having conquered Perseus king of Macedon, and subdued that whole realm, had celebrated games at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in that country, in imitation hereof, proposed to do the same at Daphne near Antioch; and therefore, having set a day for it, sent out emissaries into all parts to invite spectators to the place, whereby he drew great numbers thither to see the shows, which he there celebrated with great pomp and prodigious expence for several days together: through all which, to verify the character prophetically given of him [n] by the holy prophet Daniel, he acted the part of a most vile and despicable person, agreeable to what hath been before mentioned of him, exposing himself before that numerous assembly, by the meanest and most indecent actions of behaviour, to the contempt, scorn, and ridicule, of all that were present; and to that degree, that several not being able to bear the sight of so absurd and profligate a conduct, fled from his feasts to avoid it. Polybius wrote a full description of all this, and Athenæus hath copied it from him at large; and the same may be seen in epitome out of Diodorus Siculus among the Excerpta published by Valesius.

But, while Antiochus was thus playing the fool at Daphne, Judas was acting another kind of part in Judea. For having gotten together such an army as is mentioned, [o] he went round the cities of Judea in the same manner as his father had begun to do, destroying every where all utensils and implements of idolatry, and cutting off, in all places, the Heathen idolaters, and all others who had apostatized to them; and hereby having delivered the true lovers of the law, wherever he came, from all those that oppressed them, for the better securing of them from all such for the future, he fortified their towns, rebuilt their fortresses, and placed strong garrisons in them for their protection and defence; and hereby made himself strong and powerful in the land. Whereon Apollonius, [p] who was governor for Antiochus in

[m] Polyb. apud Athenæum, lib. 5. c. 4. p. 194, 195. & lib. 10. c. 12. p. 439. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 321.

[n] Daniel xi. 21.

[o] 1 Maccab. iii. 8. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7.

[p] 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 10.

Samaria, thinking to put a stop to his future progress, got an army together, and marched against him. But Judas, [q] having vanquished and slain him in battle, made a great slaughter of his forces, and took their spoils; among which finding the sword of Apollonius, he took it to his own use, and fought with it all his life after.

Seron, [r] who was a deputy-governor of some part of Cœle-Syria under Ptolemy Macron, (for this Ptolemy was then [s] chief governor of that province,) hearing of the defeat of Apollonius, got all the forces together that were under his command, and [t] marched with them into Judea, with hopes of revenging this blow, and gaining thereby great honour to himself on Judas, and those that followed him; but, instead hereof, he met with the same fate that Apollonius did, being vanquished by Judas, and slain in battle, in the same manner as the other had been.

When [u] Antiochus heard of these two defeats, he was moved with great fury and indignation; and therefore, in his rage, forthwith sent and gathered together all his forces, even a very great army, resolving in his wrath to march immediately with them into Judea, and there utterly destroy the whole nation of the Jews, and give their land to others to be divided among them: but, when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted, that there was not money therein sufficient for it; which forced him to suspend his revenge upon the Jews for the present, and put a stop to all those violent designs which he had formed in his mind for the speedy executing of it. He had expended vast sums in his late shows, and, besides, he was on all occasions [x] very magnificent and profuse in his gifts and donatives, frequently dealing out to his followers and others vast sums with both hands, sometimes to good purposes, but oftener to none at all; which made good what the prophet Daniel foretold of him, That [y] *he should scatter among his followers* [z] *the prey, and*

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[q] 1 Maccab. iii. 10—12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 10.

[r] 2 Maccab. iii. 13.

[s] 2 Maccab. viii. 8.

[t] 1 Maccab. iii. 13—24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 10.

[u] 1 Maccab. iii. 27, 28, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. Athen. lib. 5. p. 194. & lib. 10. p. 438.

[y] Daniel xi. 24.

[z] How he came by these riches, spoil, and prey, Athenæus tells

the spoil, and riches; and from hence he had the character of [a] *the magnanimous* and *the munificent.* For, in the liberal giving of gifts, we are told [b] in the Maccabees, that he abounded above all the kings that were before him. And besides at the same time he was further perplexed, according to the predictions of the same holy prophet, [c] *by tidings that came to him out of the East, and out of the North, that troubled him.* For in the North, Artaxias king of Armenia, his tributary, had revolted from him, and in Persia, which was in the East, his taxes were no more duly paid; for there, as well as [d] in other parts of his empire, a failure herein was caused by reason of the dissention and plague which he had brought upon them, by taking away the laws which had been of old time among them, out of a fond desire of bringing all to an uniformity with the Greeks. For, had it not been for these disturbances, such payments from so large and rich an empire would regularly have come into his treasury, as would constantly have made amends for all his goings out of it; but, when the goings out of it continued, and the flowings in failed, had his treasure been as the ocean, it must have grown empty at last; and this now was his case.

And therefore, for the remedying of this, as well as other inconveniences which then perplexed his affairs, [e] he resolved to divide his army into two parts, and to leave one of them with Lysias, a nobleman of the royal family, to subdue the Jews, and with the other to march himself first into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, for the restoring of his affairs in those countries. And accordingly, having left the same Lysias governor of all that part of his empire which lay on this side of the Euphrates, and committed to his care the

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in these following words: 'All these expences were made partly out of the prey, which, contrary to his faith given, he took in Egypt from King Philometor, then a minor, and partly out of the gifts of his friends; but, the greatest part was from the spoils of the many temples which he sacrilegiously robbed.' Deipnosoph. lib. 5. p. 195.

[a] Μεγαλόψυχος καὶ φιλόδωρος. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[b] Maccab. iii. 30.

[c] Daniel xi. 44. Vide Hieronymum in Comment. ad illum locum.

[d] 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

[e] 1 Maccab. iii, 31, 32, &c. Joseph. ibid.

breeding up of his son, who was then a minor [f] but of seven years old; he passed over Mount Taurus into Armenia, and, having [g] vanquished Artaxias, and taken him prisoner, marched thence into Persia, hoping that by taking the tribute of that rich country, and the other provinces of the East, for which they were in arrear to him, he should gather money sufficient wherewith to repair all the deficiences of his treasury, and thereby restore all his other affairs to their former order and prosperity.

While he was on these projects abroad, Lysias was intent on the executing of his orders at home, especially in reference to the Jews; concerning whom the King's command left with him was, [h] utterly to extirpate that people out of their country, and to place strangers in all its quarters, and divide the land by lot among them. And the progress which Judas made with his forces, in bringing all places under him wherever he came, hastened Lysias to a speedy execution of what the king had commanded in reference to them. For Philip, [i] whom Antiochus had left at Jerusalem in the government of Judea, seeing how Judas grew and increased, [k] wrote hereof to Ptolemy Macron, then governor of the province of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, to which the government of Judea was an appendant, pressing him to a speedy care of the king's interest in this matter, and Ptolemy communicated it to Lysias; whereon it being resolved forthwith to send an army into Judea, [l] Ptolemy Macron was appointed to have the chief conduct of the war; who, choosing Nicanor, one of his especial friends, for his lieutenant, [m] sent him before with 20,000 men, joining with him Gorgias, an old soldier, greatly experienced in matters of war, for his assistant. These having entered the country, were speedily followed thither by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces designed for this expedition; which, when all joined together, [n] encamped at Emmaus near

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[f] He was, when he succeeded his father two years after, a youth of nine years old.

[g] Appian. in Syriacis. Porphyrius apud Hieronymum in Dan. xi. 44.

[h] 2 Maccab. iii. 34, 35, 36. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[i] 2 Maccab. v. 22.

[k] 2 Maccab. viii. 8.

[l] 1 Maccab. iii. 38. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[m] 2 Maccab. viii. 9.

[n] 1 Maccab. iii. 40. Joseph. ibid.

Jerusalem, and there made up an army of [o] 40,000 foot, and 7000 horse; and thither resorted to them another army of merchants for the buying of the captives which they reckoned would be taken in this war. For [p] Nicanor proposing to raise great sums of money this way, even as much as would be sufficient to pay the debt of 2000 talents which the king then owed the Romans for arrear of tribute due to them, by the treaty of peace made with them by his father, after the battle of Mount Sipylus, he caused the sale to be proclaimed in all the neighbouring countries, promising to sell no fewer than 90 Jews for every talent. For it was resolved to slay all the full grown men, and sell all the rest for slaves; and 180,000 of the latter at the price promised, would raise the sum proposed. Hereon [q] the merchants promising themselves great gains from so cheap a market, flocked thither with their silver and gold in great numbers, they being no fewer than 1000 principal merchants that came to the Syrian camp on this occasion, besides a much greater number of servants and assistants, whom they brought thither with them, to help them in carrying off the slaves they should purchase.

Judas and his brethren [r] seeing the great danger which they were threatened with from this numerous army (for they knew that they came with orders to destroy and utterly abolish the whole Jewish nation,) resolved to stand to their defence, and fight for their lives, their law, and their liberties, and either conquer or die in the attempt. And [s] 6000 men being gathered together after them for this intent, [t] Judas divided them into four bands, each consisting of 1500 men; one of these Judas himself took the command of, and committed that of the other three to three of his brothers, and then led them all to [u] Mizpa, there to offer up their prayers to God for his merciful assistance to them in the time of this great danger. For Jerusalem being at that time in the hands of the Heathens, and the sanctuary trodden under foot, they could not assemble there for this purpose; and therefore Mizpa being the place [x] where men prayed aforetime in Is-

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[o] 1 Maccab. iii. 39. Joseph, ibid.

[p] 2 Maccab. viii. 10, 11.

[q] 1 Maccab. iii. 41. 2 Maccab. viii. 34. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[r] 1 Maccab. iii. 42, &c. 2 Maccab. viii. 12, &c. Joseph. ibid.

[s] 2 Maccab. viii. 16. [t] 2 Maccab. viii. 21, 22.

[u] 1 Maccab. iii. 46, &c. [x] Judges xx. 1. 1 Sam. vii. 5.

rael, there they met together, and addressed themselves to God in solemn fasting and prayer, for the imploring of his mercy upon them in this their great distress, and then marched forth to fight the enemy. But when proclamation was made, according [y] to the law, that [z] all such as had that year built houses, betrothed wives, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should depart; the 6000 men which Judas had at first, [a] were reduced to 3000. However, that valiant captain of God's people resolving even with these to fight this numerous army, and commit the event to God, [b] led forth this small company into the field, and pitched his camp very near that of the enemy; and there, having encouraged them with what was proper to be spoken to them on such an occasion, did let them know that he purposed the next morning to join battle with the Syrians, and ordered them to provide for it accordingly. But, having [c] gotten intelligence that evening, that Gorgias was marched out of the Syrian camp with 5000 chosen foot, and 1000 of their best horse, and was leading them through by-ways, under the guidance of some apostate Jews, upon a design of falling on him in the night, for the cutting of him off, and all there with him, by a sudden surprise, he countermined his plot by another of the same kind, and executed it with much better success. For immediately quitting his camp, and leaving it quite empty, he marched toward that of the enemy, and fell upon them, while Gorgias was absent on his night project with their best men, by which they being surprised, and put into great confusion, soon fled, and left Judas master of their camp, and 3000 of their men [d] dead upon the spot. But Gorgias and his detachment being still entire, Judas [e] with-held his men from the spoil and the pursuit till these were also vanquished, and this was done without any further fighting. For Gorgias, after having in vain sought for Judas in his camp, and also in the mountains where he thought him fled, returning back, and finding on his return the camp on fire, and the main army broken and fled, he could no longer keep his men together, but they all flung down their arms, and fled also; whereon Judas, with all his men, put himself on the pursuit,

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[y] Deut. xx. 5.
[z] 1 Maccab. iii. 56.
[a] 1 Maccab. iv. 6.
[b] 1 Maccab. iii. 57, 58.
[c] 1 Maccab. iv. 1. 2 Maccab. viii. 16, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.
[d] 1 Maccab. iv. 15.
[e] 2 Maccab. iv. 18, &c.

and therein slew great numbers more of the Syrian host, so that the slain in the whole amounted to [f] 9000 men; and most of the rest were sore wounded and maimed that escaped from the battle. After this Judas [g] led back his men to take the spoils of the camp, where they found great riches, and got all that money for a prey which the merchants brought thither to buy them with, and several of them they sold for slaves who came thither, as to a market, to have bought them for such. And [h] the next day after being their sabbath, they solemnized it with great devotion, rejoicing and giving praise to God for this great and merciful deliverance which he had now given unto them.

Judas and his followers being flushed with this victory, and being also by the reputation of it much increased in their strength, through the numbers of those that resorted to them hereon, resolved to pursue the advantage they had gotten for the suppressing of all other their enemies; and therefore, [i] understanding that Timotheus, governor of the country beyond Jordan, and Bacchides, another of Antiochus' lieutenants in those parts, were drawing forces together to annoy them, they marched forthwith against them, and, having overthrown them in a great battle, slew above 20,000 of their men; and, having taken their spoils, they thereby not only enriched themselves, but also got provisions of arms, and many other necessaries, for the future carrying on of the war. And in this victory they had the satisfaction of executing their just revenge on two very signal enemies of theirs, [k] the one called Philarches, who with Timotheus had done them much mischief, and [l] the other Calisthenes, who was the person that put fire to the gates of the temple whereby they were burned down. The first they slew in battle, and the other being driven in the pursuit into a little house, they set it on fire over his head, and there made him die in it, such a death as well suited the crime whereby he deserved it. And as to Nicanor, though he escaped with life, yet it was in a very ignominious manner. For finding the army broken, and the expedition thereby defeated, he changed his [m] glorious apparel for that of a servant, and in this disguise made his escape through the midland to Antioch, where he was

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[f] 2 Maccabees viii. 24.
[g] 1 Macçab. iv. 23, 24, &c. Joseph. ibid.
[h] 2 Macçab. viii. 26, 27.
[i] 2 Maccab. viii. 30, 31.
[k] 2 Maccab. viii. 32.
[l] 2 Maccab. viii. 33.
[m] 2 Maccabees viii. 34, 35, 36.

in great dishonour and disgrace, by reason of his miscarriage in this enterprise, and losing thereby so great an army. For the excusing of himself in this case, he was forced to acknowledge the great power of the God of Israel; alleging, that he fought for his people, because they kept his law; and that as long as they did so, they would always have him for their Protector, and no hurt could be done unto them. It is most likely Ptolemy Macron was not present in any of these battles, there being no mention made of him in any of them. Perchance the affairs of Syria, of which he was governor, then kept him otherwise employed. And therefore, though he came at first to the camp at Emmaus, yet he was not present when the battle there was fought with Judas, but left it wholly to be conducted by Nicanor his deputy. And therefore the whole of it is in the history attributed to Nicanor, without naming Ptolemy at all, unless only in the first appointment of that expedition.

Anno 165. Judas Maccabæus 2.

Lysias, on the hearing of the ill success of the king's army in Judea, and the great losses sustained thereby [n] was much confounded at it. But knowing how earnest the king's commands were for the executing of his wrath upon that people, he made great preparations for another expedition against them; and, having gotten together an army of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, all choice men, he put himself at the head of them, and marched with them in person into Judea, purposing no less than the utter destruction of that country, and all the inhabitants of it. With this design, being entered into it, he pitched his camp at Bethsura, a town lying to the south of Jerusalem, near the confines of Idumea. There Judas met him with 10,000 men; and having, through his great confidence in God's assistance, with this much inferior force, engaged the numerous army of Lysias, and, having slain 5000 of them, he put all the rest to flight; whereby Lysias being much dismayed, and also equally astonished at the valour of Judas' soldiers, who fought as men ready prepared either to live or die valiantly, returned with his baffled army to Antioch, purposing to come again with greater force against them another year.

Upon this retreat of Lysias, [o] Judas being left master of

[n] 1 Maccab. iv. 26, 27, &c. Joseph. ibid.

[o] 1 Maccab. iv. 36, &c. 2 Maccab. x. 1, 2, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

the country, proposed to his followers their going up to Jerusalem for the recovery of the sanctuary out of the hands of the Heathen, and to cleanse and dedicate it anew for the service of the Lord their God, that his worship might be there again restored, and daily carried on as in former times; to which all consenting, he led them up thither, where they found all things in a very lamentable state: for the city was in rubbish, the sanctuary desolated, the altar profaned, the gates of the temple burned up, shrubs were in its courts as in a forest, and the priest's chambers pulled down. At the sight hereof, the whole assembly fell into great lamentation, and pressed earnestly to have all these desolations and profanations removed out of the house of God, that so his worship might be again performed in it as in former times. And accordingly, in order hereto, Judas having chosen priests of unblameable conversation, appointed them to the work; who, having cleansed the sanctuary, pulled down the altars which the Heathen had there erected, borne out all the defiled stones of them into an unclean place, taken down the old altar which the Heathens had profaned, built a new one in its stead of unhewn stones, [p] according to the law, and hallowed the courts, made thereby the whole temple in all things again fit for its former service. But whereas Antiochus [q] had, in his sacrilegious pillars of it, taken away the golden altar of incense, the shew-bread table, which was all overlaid with gold, and the golden candlestick (which all three stood in the holy place,) and had also robbed it of all its other vessels and utensils, and the service of the temple could not be perfectly performed without them, Judas took care that all these defects should be supplied. [r] For, out of the spoils which he had taken from the enemy, he caused to be made a new altar of incense, and a new candlestick all of gold, and a new shew-bread table all overlaid with gold, all three formed in the same manner as they were before. And, by his care, all other vessels and utensils, both of gold and silver, that were necessary for the divine service, were again provided, and a new veil was also made to separate between the holy place, and the holy of holies, and there hung in its proper place. And, when all these things were made ready, and all placed according to their former order,

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[p] Exodus xx. 25. Deut. xxvii. 5. Joshua viii. 31.
[q] 1 Maccab. i. 21—23. 2 Maccab. v. 16.
[r] 1 Maccab. iv. 49.

each in the particular place, and each for the particular use which they were ordained for, a new dedication of the altar was resolved on. The day [s] appointed for it was the 25th day of their ninth month, called Cisleu, which fell about the time of the winter solstice. This was the very same day of the year, [t] on which three years before, it had been profaned in the manner as above related, [u] just three years and an half after the city and temple had been desolated by Apollonius, [x] two years after Judas had taken on him the chief command of the Jews, on his father's death. They [y] began the day early, by offering sacrifices, according to the law, upon the new altar which they had made, having first [z] struck fire for it, by dashing two flints against each other, and from the same fire having lighted the seven lamps on the golden candlestick that stood in the holy place, beside the altar of incense, they went on in all the other service, restoring it, according to their former rule, in all the particulars of the divine worship which were there used to be performed; and so it continued to be there ever after celebrated, without any other interruption, till the Romans finally destroyed the temple, and thereby put an end to all the ritual worship of that place.

The solemnity of this dedication [a] was continued for eight days together, which they celebrated with great joy and thanksgiving, for the deliverance which God had given unto them. And, for the more solemn acknowledgment hereof, they decreed the like festival to be ever after annually kept in commemoration of it. This was called the feast of dedication. It begun every year on the said 25th day of Cisleu, and

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[s] 1 Maccabees iv. 52. 2 Maccabees x. 5.

1 Maccabees i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccabees x. 5.

[u] Josephus in Præfatione ad librum de Bello Judaico, et in ipso libro de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 1. & lib. 6. c. 11.

[x] 2 Maccabees x. 3.

[y] 1 Maccabees iv. 52, &c. 2 Maccabees x. 1, 2, &c.

[z] 2 Maccabees x. 3. N. B. The sacred fire which came down from heaven, at the dedication of Solomon's temple, was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians, till which time it had there been kept constantly burning. After that, they used no other than common fire in the temple; but still they avoided the bringing thither of any culinary fire which had been profaned by other uses, and therefore kindled it by dashing two stones one against the other, as is here said.

[a] 1 Maccab. iv. 56. 2 Maccab. x. 6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

was continued to the eight day after, in the same manner as were the passover and the feast of tabernacles; [b] during all which time they all illuminated their houses, by setting up of candles at every man's door; from whence it was [c] called the feast of lights.

This festival [d] Christ honoured with his presence at Jerusalem, coming thither of purpose to bear a part in the solemnizing of it, which implies his approbation of it; and therefore from hence [e] Grotius very justly infers, that festival days in memorial of public blessings may piously be instituted by persons in authority without a divine command, or (it may be added) the example of a person divinely directed observing the same. For the institution of this festival was without either, there being neither any divine precept, nor the example of any prophet, for the observance of it. Neither can it be said, that it was the feast of any other dedication that Christ was present at, save this only which was instituted by Judas Maccabæus. As to the two former dedications of the temple which were had before, first that of Solomon, and afterwards that of Zerubbabel, though they were very solemnly celebrated at the time on which they were performed, yet there was no anniversary feast in commemoration of either of them celebrated afterwards, as there was of this of Judas Maccabæus. And, though there had, yet the text in the gospel clearly pins down the dedication mentioned in it to the dedication of Judas only: for it tells us, that the time of its celebration was in the winter; which could be said only of this, and not of either of the other two: for that of Solomon was [f] in the 7th month, then called Ethanim, afterward Tizri, which fell about the time of the autumnal equinox; and that of Zerubbabel was [g] in their 12th month, called Adar, which fell in the beginning of the spring: but that of Judas Maccabæus being on the 25th day of the month Cisleu, which fell in the middle of winter, this plainly demonstrates, that the feast of dedication which Christ was present at in Jerusalem could be no other feast than that which was celebrated in commemoration of the dedication performed by Judas Maccabæus, and instituted by him for this purpose.

When the old altar which the Heathens had polluted was

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[b] Maimonides in Chanucah. [c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.
[d] John x. 22.
[e] In Comment. ad Evangelium St. Johan x. 22.
[f] 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. v. 3. [g] Ezra vi. 15—17.

pulled down, a dispute arose how the stones of it were to be disposed of. The Heathens having sacrificed on this altar to their idol gods, and some of those sacrifices having been of unclean beasts, the worshippers of the true God then looked on it, and all the stones of which it was built, as doubly polluted hereby, and therefore no more to be made use of in his service. And, on the other side, they having been for many ages sanctified by the sacrifices which had been offered thereon to the true God, they were afraid, after this, of applying them to any profane or common use. And therefore, being in this doubt, [h] they resolved to lay up these stones in some convenient place within [i] the mountain of the house, till there should a prophet arise, who should shew them what was to be done with them; so scrupulous were they in this case. The place in which, according to the Mishnah, these stones were laid up, was [k] one of the four closets of the Beth-Moked, or the common fire-room of the priests attending the service, that is, that closet which lay on the north-west corner of that room. But that closet, according to the description of it in the same Mishnah, could not be large enough to hold the tenth part of those stones. I cannot take upon me to solve this difficulty.

But, though the Jews had recovered their temple, and restored it again to its former sacred use, yet still there remained one great thorn in their sides; for the fortress was still in the hands of the enemy, and strongly garrisoned by them, partly with Heathen soldiers, and partly [l] with apostate Jews, which were the worse of the two, from [m] whence they much annoyed those that went up to the temple to worship, often sallying from thence upon them, and slaying several of them. This [n]

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[h] 1 Maccabees iv. 46.

[i] All within the outer wall of the temple, which made the great square 500 cubits on every side, was called *Har Habbeth*, i. e. *the mountain of the house*. All that was within the wall, that included the court of the women, and the inner court in which the temple stood, was called *Mikdash*, i. e. *the sanctuary*. And the temple itself, including the porch, the holy place, and the holy of holies, was called *Hecal*, i. e. *the temple*. This is to be understood strictly speaking; for often all these words are used promiscuously for the temple in general.

[k] Middoth. c. 1. § 6.

[l] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

[m] Maccab. i. 36, 37.

[n] 1 Maccab. i. 33—35. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

fortress was built by Apollonius when he sacked and destroyed Jerusalem, as hath been above related, and stood upon an eminence over against the mountain of the temple; for which reason the place was called Mount Acra, from the Greek word Ακρα, which signifieth an eminence, or fortress on the top of an hill; which eminence overtopping the mountain of the temple, as being then the higher of the two, had thereby the command of it, which gave the soldiers there in garrison the advantage which I have mentioned, of annoying all those who went up thither to worship. For the preventing of this, Judas at first [o] appointed part of his army to shut them up within their fortress, and to fight against all such as should sally out of it upon any of the people. But, finding he could not spare so many of his men as was necessary for this blockade, he caused the mountain of the house to [p] be fortified with strong walls and high towers built round about it, and placed there a strong garrison to defend it, and secure those that went up thither to worship from all future insults that might be made upon them, either from the fortress or any other place.

And whereas the Idumeans were at that time great enemies to the Jews, to secure Jerusalem from all insults from that quarter, [q] he fortified Bethsura to be a barrier against them. I have [r] formerly shewn, that the Idumea, or land of Edom, in which those people now dwelt, was not the Idumea, or land of Edom, which is mentioned in the scriptures of the Old Testament. Wherever this name occurs in any of those ancient holy writings, it is to be understood of that Idumea, or land of Edom, only, which lay between the lake of Sodom and the Red sea, and was afterwards called Arabia Petræa; nor are any other Edomites spoken of in them, than those which inhabited in that country, excepting only in one passage [s] in the prophet Malachi. But these Edomites

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[o] 1 Maccab. iv. 41. Josephus, ibid.

[p] 1 Maccab. iv. 60. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11.

[q] 1 Maccab. iv. 61. Joseph. ibid.

[r] Part 1. Book 1.

[s] Malachi i. 3, 4. There God speaks, ver. 3. of his having *laid the mountains and heritage of Esau waste*; which was done on their expulsion by the Nabatheans out of that mountainous country, lying between the Red sea and the lake of Sodom, where they formerly had their inheritance. The 4th verse contains their brag, *that they would return again into this their ancient country*,

[t] being driven from thence by the Nabatheans, while the Jews were in the Babylonish captivity, and their land lay desolate, they then took possession of as much of the southern part of it as contained what had formerly been the whole inheritance of the tribe of Simeon, and also half of that which had been the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, and there dwelt ever after, till at length, going over into the religion of the Jews, they became incorporated with them into the same nation. And this only is the Idumea, and the inhabitants of it the only Edomites, or Idumeans, which are any where spoken of after the Babylonish captivity. After their coming into this country, Hebron, which had formerly been the metropolis of the tribe of Judah, thenceforth became the metropolis of Idumea; and in the road between that and Jerusalem lay Bethsura, at the distance of five furlongs from the latter, saith the author of the second book [u] of Maccabees; but others put it at a much greater distance, and these seem to be nearest to the truth of the matter.

Anno 164. Judas Maccabæus 3.

When the neighbouring nations round about heard that the Jews had again recovered the city and temple of Jerusalem, new dedicated the sanctuary, erected a new altar in it, and again restored the Jewish worship in that place, [x] they were much moved with envy and hatred against them hereon; and therefore, taking counsel together against them, resolved to act in concert together for their utter extirpation, and began to execute this resolution, by putting all of them to death who were found sojourning any where among them, purposing to join with Antiochus for the effecting of all the rest in the utter destruction of the whole race of Israel.

But Antiochus dying in the interim, this broke all the measures which they had concerted together for this mischief. For, on his passing into Persia, to gather up the arrears of tribute which were there due to him, being told, that [y] the

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re-build the desolated cities, which they formerly there possessed, and again dwell in them. But hereto God, by the mouth of his holy prophet, denies them success, telling them, *that as fast as they should build he would pull down again:* and so it accordingly happened; for the Edomites could never again recover that country.

[t] See an account hereof in the first part of this history, book 1. under the year 740.

[u] Chap. ii. ver. 5.

[x] 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2.

[y] 1 Maccab. vi. 1, 2, &c.

city of Elymais in that country was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple [z] of Diana, in which were vast treasures, he marched thither, with intent to take the city, and spoil that and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at Jerusalem. But, on fore notice had of this design, the people of the country round about, as well as the inhabitants of the city, joining together in defence of their temple, beat him off with shame and confusion; whereon [a] he retired to Ecbatana in Media, greatly grieved for this baffle and disappointment. On his arrival thither, [b] news came to him of what had happened to Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea; at which being exceedingly enraged, he hastened back, with all the speed he was able, to execute the utmost of his wrath upon the people of the Jews, breathing nothing else but threats of utter destruction and utter extirpation against them all the way as he went. As he was [c] thus hastening towards the country of Babylonia, through which he was to pass in his return, he met on the road with other messengers, [d] which brought him an account how the Jews had defeated Lysias, recovered the temple of Jerusalem, pulled down the images and altars which he had there erected, and restored that place to its former worship: at which being enraged to the utmost fury, he commanded his charioteer to double his speed, that he might be sooner on the place to execute his revenge upon this people, threatening, as he went, that he would make Jerusalem a place of sepulture for the Jews, wherein he would bury the whole nation, destroying them all to a man. But, [e] while these proud words were in his mouth, the judgments of God overtook him: for he had no sooner spoken them, but he was smitten with an incurable plague, a great pain seizing his bowels, and a grievous torment following thereupon in his inward parts, which no remedy could abate. However, [f] he would not slacken his speed; but, still continuing in the same wrath, he drove on in the same haste to execute it, till at length, his chariot overthrowing, he was cast to the ground with such violence, that he was sorely bruised and

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[z] Polybius saith, it was a temple of Diana, (in Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.;) and so saith Josephus, (Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13. But Appian (in Syriacis) saith, that it was a temple of Venus.

[a] 2 Maccab. ix. 3.
[b] 2 Maccab. ibid.
[c] 1 Maccab. vi. 4.
[d] 1 Maccab. vi. 6.
[e] 2 Maccab. ix. 5. 6.
[f] 2 Maccab. ix. 7.

hurt in all the members of his body; whereon he was put into a litter; but not being able long to bear that, he was forced to put in at a town [g] called Tabæ, [h] lying in the mountains of Parætacene, [i] in the confines of Persia and Babylonia, and there betake [k] himself to his bed, where he suffered horrid torments both in body and mind. For in his body [l] a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him nor he himself could well bear; and in this condition [m] he lay languishing and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind [n] were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the reflections which he made on his former actions. Polybius [o] tells us of this, as well as Josephus, and the authors of the first and second book of Maccabees; and adds hereto, that it grew so far upon him as to come to a constant delirium, or state of madness, by reason of several spectres and apparitions of evil spirits, which he imagined were continually about him, reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds which he had been guilty of. Polybius saith, this was for the sacrilegious attempt which he made upon the temple of Diana in Elymais, overlooking that which he had actually executed upon the temple at Jerusalem. Josephus [p] reproves him for this, and, with much more reason and justice, lays the whole cause of his suffering in this sickness, as [q] did also Antiochus himself, to what he did at Jerusalem, and the temple of God in that place, and the horrid persecution which he thereon raised against all that worshipped him there. For the sacrilege at Elymais was only attempted, that at Jerusalem was fully committed, with horrid impiety against God, and with as horrid cruelty against all those that served him there: and the former sacrilege, if it had been committed, had been only against a false deity; but the latter was against the true God, the great and almighty Creator of heaven and earth.

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[g] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.
[h] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 13.
[i] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 522. & 524.
[k] 1 Maccab. vi. 8.
[l] 2 Maccab. ix. 9.
[m] Appian. in Syriacis. 1 Maccab. vi. 9, 10. 2 Maccab. ix. 9—11.
[n] 1 Maccab. vi. 8—13.
[o] In Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.
[p] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13.
[q] 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11—17. Joseph. ibid

However, it is a great confirmation of what is above related out of Josephus and the two books of the Maccabees, of the signal judgment of God which was executed upon this wicked tyrant, that Polybius, an Heathen author, doth agree with them herein as to the matter of fact, though he differs from them in assigning a wrong cause for it. It seems Antiochus, being at length awakened by his afflictions, became himself fully sensible, that all his sufferings in them were from the hand of God upon him for what he had done against the temple at Jerusalem, and his servants that worshipped him there. For he [r] acknowledged all this before his death, with many vows of what he would do for the repairing of all the evil which he had there done, in case he should again recover. But his repentance came too late; God would not then hear him: and therefore after having languished out a while in this miserable condition, and under these horrid torments of body and mind, [s] he at length, being half consumed with the rottenness of his ulcer, gave up the ghost and died, after he had reigned [t] full 11 years. And I cannot forbear here remarking, that most of the great persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in the like manner in the secret parts. Thus died Herod, the great persecutor of Christ and the infants at Bethlehem; and thus died Galerius Maximianus, the author and the great persecutor of the tenth and greatest persecution against the primitive Christians; and thus also died Philip II. king of Spain, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecutions, and the numbers destroyed by it, as any of the other three. As to the manner of Herod's death, I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter in its proper place; and, as to the death of the other two, that of Galerius is des-

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[r] 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11—18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13.

[s] 1 Maccab. vi. 16. 2 Maccab. ix. 28. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 13. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius in Excerptis Valesii, p. 144. Hieronymus ad Dan. xi. 36. Eusebius in Chronico.

[t] So saith Porphyry, Eusebius, Jerom, and Sulpitius Severus. But the author of the first book of Maccabees saith, he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and died the 149th year, which makes him reign 12 years. For the reconciling of this it must be said, that he began his reign in the ending of the 137th year, and ended it in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra.

cribed by [u] Eusebius and [x] Lactantius, and that of Philip II. by [y] Mezeray; and to these authors I remit the reader for an account of them.

Antiochus the Great, having attempted the like sacrilege in the country of Elymais as Antiochus his son did in the city of Elymais, and perished in it, [z] as hath been above related, this hath made some think, that the parity of names hath been the cause of this parity of facts being attributed to both, and that only one of them was guilty of this sacrilegious attempt which is related of both. And, on this supposition, [a] Scaliger chargeth Jerom with a blunder, for saying, in his comment on the 11th chapter of Daniel, that Antiochus the Great, fighting against the Elymeans, was cut off by them with all his army. For he will have it, that this was not true of Antiochus the Great, but only of Antiochus Epiphanes: and yet many other authors attest the same thing with Jerom, that Antiochus the Great was thus cut off in the sacrilegious attempt, and none say it of Antiochus Epiphanes; for he escaped from the baffle, though he lost many of his men in it, and died afterwards. So saith [b] Appian; and so saith [c] Polybius, as well as Josephus, and both the authors of the first and second books of the Maccabees. And although both the sacrileges were attempted in the country of the Elymeans, yet it was not upon the same temple that the attempt was made. That of Antiochus the Great was upon the temple of Belus, the great god of the East; and that of Epiphanes was upon the temple of Diana; and there was a Persian Diana, [d] Tacitus tells us; and, that this goddess had a temple among the Elymeans, is attested by [e] Strabo, who tells us also of it, and that it was very rich; for he saith, that it being afterwards plundered by one of the Parthian kings, [f] he took from it 10,000 talents. This temple, Strabo tells us, was called Azara, or rather, as [g] Casaubon corrects it, Zara. Hence Diana was called [h] Zaretis among the Persians.

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[u] Hist. Eccl. viii. 16.
[x] De Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 33.
[y] History of France, under the year 1598.
[z] Part II. book 2. under the year 187.
[a] In Animad. ad Eusebii Chronicon, sub No. 1825. p. 140.
[b] In Syriacis.
[c] In Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.
[d] Annalium, lib. 3. c. 62.
[e] Lib. 16. p. 744.
[f] Strabo, ibid.
[g] In notis ad p. 744.
[h] Hesychius in voce Ζαρῆτις.

Antiochus Epiphanes having been a great oppressor of the church of God, under the Jewish œconomy, and the type of Antichrist, which was to oppress it in after ages under the Christian, more is prophetically said of him in the prophecies of Daniel, than of any other prince which these prophecies relate to; the better half of the 11th chapter, that is, from the 20th verse to the 45th, which is the last of that chapter, is wholly concerning him; and there are several passages also in the 8th and 12th chapters which relate to him. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first is concerning his wars with Egypt, and the second is concerning the persecutions and oppressions brought by him upon the Jewish church and nation, and these were all fulfilled in the actions of his reign.

And first, as to his wars with Egypt, what is said, chap. xi. ver. 25, 40, 42, 43. was accomplished in his second expedition into that country, and the actions done by him therein, which are above related. What is in the 26th verse was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from King Philometor, and the treachery and mal-administration of Lenæus, Eulæus, and other ministers and officers employed under him. What is in the 27th verse had its completion in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis, where the two kings, both in the time of the second and of the third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, did [1] frequently eat at the same table, and conferred together seemingly as friends; Antiochus pretending to take upon him the care of the kingdom, for the interest of Philometor, his nephew, and Philometor pretending to confide in Antiochus, as his uncle, in all that he was thus doing. But both herein *spoke lies* to each other; for, in reality, they both intended quite the contrary; Antiochus' design being under the pretence above mentioned, to seize all Egypt to himself, and Philometor's to take the first opportunity to disappoint him of it, as accordingly at length he did by his agreement with his brother and the Alexandrians, as is above related. Whereon followed what is foretold in the 29th and 30th verses of the same chapter. For Antiochus, on his hearing of this agreement, pulled off his vizard, and openly owned his design for the usurping of Egypt to himself, and, for the full executing of it, *returned and came again towards the South*, that is, into Egypt, in his last expedition into that country. *But he did not then prevail, as in the former and*

[1] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

the latter (i. e. in his two preceding *attempts* upon that country,) because of *the ships that came from Chittim (i. e.* the country of the Grecians) against him, which brought Popilius Lænas and the other Roman ambassadors to Alexandria, who made him, *to his great grief, return out of Egypt*, and quit all his designs upon that country. However, what is foretold in the 42 and 43d verses, *of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country*, had its thorough completion; for he miserably harassed and wasted the whole land of Egypt in all his expeditions into it, [k] carrying thence vast treasures of gold and silver, and other riches, in the prey and spoils taken in it by him and his followers. And there ended all the prophecies of Daniel which relate to the wars that were between the kings of Syria and the kings of Egypt; for, in those prophecies, *the kings of the North* were the kings of Syria, and *the kings of the South* the kings of Egypt, as hath been above related.

As to the other part of Daniel's prophecies of this king, which relate to the persecutions and oppressions which he brought upon the Jewish church and nation; what is said, chap. xi. ver. 22. of the *Prince of the covenant being broken before him*, foreshewed what he did to Onias the high-priest, who was deposed and banished by him, and at length murdered by one of his lieutenants: for the high priest of the Jews was the prince of the Mosaic covenant. What is said, in the 28th verse, of *his heart being set against the holy covenant, on his returning from Egypt*, and *of the exploits which he did thereon*, foreshewed what he did to Judah and Jerusalem, on his return from his second expedition into the said country of Egypt, when, without a cause, he murdered and enslaved so many of the Jewish nation, and robbed the city and temple of Jerusalem of all their riches and treasure. What is said in the 30th verse foretold *the grief with which he returned* from his fourth and last expedition into Egypt, by reason of the baffle which he then met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, and *the indignation* and wrath which then, in his irrational fury, he vented upon the Jewish church and nation, in sending Apollonius to destroy Jerusalem, and make to cease the Jewish worship in that place. What is contained in the 31st verse, and those that follow to the 40th, agreeable to what was before prophesied, chap. viii. ver.

[k] Vide Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 195. F.

9—12. and ver. 23—25. foretold *his taking away the daily sacrifice*, and all else that he did for the suppressing of the Jewish worship, and the destroying of the whole Jewish nation, which is above related. The 44th verse and the 45th of the same 11th chapter, foretold his last expedition which he made, first into Armenia, and from thence into the East, and *his there coming to an end*, and perishing in that miserable manner as hath been related, having first *planted the tabernacles of his palace*, that is, his absolute regal authority, *in the glorious holy mountain between the seas*, that is, in Jerusalem, which stood in a mountainous situation between the Mediterranean sea and the sea of Sodom; for it was built in the mid way betwixt both, on the mountains of Judea.

Never were any prophecies delivered more clearly, or fulfilled more exactly, than all these prophecies of Daniel were. Porphyry, who was a great enemy to the holy scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, [l] acknowledged this. And therefore he contends, that they were historical narratives written after the facts were done, and not prophetical predictions foretelling them to come. This Porphyry [m] was a learned Heathen, borne at Tyre in the year of Christ 233, and there called [n] Malchus; which name, on his going among the Greeks, he changed into that of Porphyry, that signifying the same in the Greek language which Malchus did in the Phœnician, the language then spoken at Tyre. He being a bitter enemy to the Christian religion, [o] wrote a large volume against it, containing 15 books, whereof the 12th was wholly against the prophecies of Daniel. These concerning the Persian kings and the Macedonian that reigned as well in Egypt as in Asia, having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, he could not disprove them by denying their completion; and therefore, for the overthrowing of their authority, he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth; and from [p] hence alleged, that, being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not there-

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[l] Apud Hieronymum in Proœmio ad Comment. in Danielem.

[m] Vide Holstenium in Vita Porphyrii, et Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2. c. 16.

[n] Malchus, from the Phœnician or Hebrew word Melec, signifieth King, and Πορφυριος did the same in Greek, that is, one that wore purple, which none but kings and royal persons then did.

[o] Hieronymus in Proœmia ad Comment. in Danielem.

[p] Hieronymus, ibid.

fore be written by Daniel so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. For the making out of which, his main argument was, that all contained in the prophecies of Daniel relating to the times preceding the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was true, and that all that related to the times which followed after was false. The latter proposition he belaboured, thereby to overthrow all that the Christians alleged from these prophecies for the Messiah, which he would have thought to be all false; and the other proposition he endeavoured to clear, thereby to make out, that the whole book was spurious, not written by Daniel, but by some one else, after the facts therein spoken of were done, as if that could not be prophetically foretold which was so exactly fulfilled. And for this reason was it, that he took upon him to prove those facts to be so exactly true as in those prophecies contained. For which purpose, he made use of the best Greek historians than extant. [q] Such were Callinicus Sutorius, Diodorus, Siculus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alypius; and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the 11th chapter of Daniel, was truly in every particular, acted and done in the order as there related; and from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned, that these prophecies were written after the facts were done, and therefore are rather historical narratives relating things past, than prophetical predictions foreshewing things afterwards to come. But Jerom turns the argument upon him, and with more strength of reason infers, that this way [r] of opposing these prophecies gives the greatest evidence of their truth, in that what the prophet foretold is hereby allowed to be so exactly fulfilled, that he seemed to unbelievers not to foretel things to come, but to relate things past. Jerom, in his comments on Daniel, makes use of the same authors that Porphyry did; and what is in these comments are all the remains which we now have of this work of that learned Heathen, or of most of those authors which he made use of in it.

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[q] Hieronymus in Procemio ad Comment. in Danielem.

[r] Jerom, speaking of Porphyry as to this matter, hath these words. 'Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta 'enim dictoru fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non 'videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita.' In Procemio ad Comment. in Danielem.

For this whole work of Porphyry is now lost, as are also most of the histories above mentioned which he quotes in it. For the histories of Callinicus Sutorius, [s] Hieronymus, [t] Posidonius, [u] Claudius Theon, and [u] Andronicus Alypius, are wholly perished; as is also the greatest part of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus. Had we all these extant, we might from them be enabled to make a much clearer and fuller explication of these prophecies, especially [x] from Callinicus Sutorius, [y] who lived in the time of Antonius Pius, the Roman emperor; and having, [z] in ten books, written an history of the affairs of Alexandria, included therein much of the Jewish transactions. And it is to be lamented, that not only these authors, and this work of Porphyry, in which he made so much use of them, are now lost; but that also the books of Eusebius, Apollonarius, and Methodius, [a] which they wrote in answer to this Heathen adversary, have all undergone the same fate, and are, in like manner, to the great damage both of divine and human knowledge, wholly lost, excepting only some few scraps of Methodius, preserved in quotations out of him by John Damascen and Nicetas. For, were these still extant, especially that of Apollonarius, [b] who wrote with the greatest exactness of the three, no doubt, much more of those authors would have been preserved in citations from them than we now have of them, there being at present no other remains of those ancient historians (excepting Polybius and Diodorus Siculus) but what we have in Jerom's comments on Daniel, and his proem to them.

Jerom and Porphyry exactly agree in their explication of the 11th chapter of Daniel, [c] till they come to the 21st verse.

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[s] This Hieronymus wrote an history of the successors of Alexander. See of him above, part I. book 8. under the year 311.

[t] Posidonius was of Apamea in Syria, and wrote, in 52 books, a continuation of Polybius down to the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, in which time he flourished.

[u] Who Claudius Theon and Andronicus Alypius were, or of what times they wrote, we have no account.

[x] Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 1, 2, 3, &c.

[y] For he was contemporary with Galen, who lived in that time. Suidas in Καλλίνικος.

[z] Suidas, ibid.

[a] Hieronymus in Procœmio prædicto.

[b] Philostorgius, lib. 8. c. 14.

[c] Hieronymus in Comment. ad Dan. xi. 21. & in Procœmio ad Comment. prædict.

For what follows from thence to the end of the chapter was all explained by Porphyry to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But Jerom here differs from him, and saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the 8th and 12th chapters of the same book, relate principally to Antichrist; that, although some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately fulfilled only in Antichrist; and this, he saith, was the general sense of the fathers of the Christian church in his time. And he explains it by a parallel taken from the 71st psalm (*i. e.* the 72d, according to the Septuagint,) which in some parts of it was typically true of Solomon, and therefore it is called a psalm for Solomon, but was wholly and ultimately only so of Christ. And therefore he would have these prophecies which are in the 8th chapter of Daniel, ver. 9—12. and ver. 23—26. and chap. xi. ver. 21—45. and chap. xii. ver. 6—13. to be fulfilled in the same manner, that is, in part and typically in Antiochus, but wholly and ultimately only in Antichrist. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that as much of these prophecies as relate to the wars of the king of the North and the king of the South (that is, the king of Syria and the king of Egypt) was wholly and ultimately fulfilled in those wars: but as much of these prophecies as related to the profanation and persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes brought upon the Jewish church was all typically fulfilled in them; but they were to have their ultimate and thorough completion only in those profanations and persecutions which Antichrist was to bring upon the church of Christ in aftertimes.

One particular mentioned in these prophecies of Daniel, and fulfilled under Antiochus, is especially taken notice of, as typifying in him what was to happen under Antichrist in aftertimes, that is, the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the ceasing of the daily sacrifices in it. This Daniel [d] said was to continue *for a time, and times, and an half of time*, that is, three years and an half, a time in that place signifying a year, and times two years, and an half of a time an half year, as all agree; and so long, [e] Josephus tells us, the profanation of the temple and the interrupting of the daily sacri-

[d] Daniel xii. 7.

[e] In Præfatione ad Historiam de Bello Judaico, & in ipsa Historia, lib. 1. c. 1. & lib. 6. c. 11.

fices in it lasted, that is, from [f] the coming of Apollonius, and his profanation of the said temple, to the purifying of it, and the new dedication of that and the new altar in it by [g] Judas Maccabæus. This prophecy, therefore, was primarily and typically fulfilled in that profanation and new dedication of the temple and altar at Jerusalem: but its chief and ultimate completion was to be in that profanation of the church of Christ which it was to suffer under the reign of Antichrist for the space of those 1260 days [h] mentioned in the Revelations. For those days there signify so many years, and three years and an half, reckoning them by months of 30 days length, made just 1260 days. These days, therefore, literally understood, make the three years and an half during which the profanation and persecution of Antiochus remained in the church of the Jews; and the same, mystically understood, make the 1260 years during which the profanation and persecution of Antichrist was to remain in the church of Christ, at the end whereof the church of Christ is to be cleansed and purified of all the profanations and pollutions of Antichrist, in the same manner as at the end of three years and an half the temple at Jerusalem was cleansed and purified from all the profanations and pollutions of Antiochus. One objection against this is, that Daniel, chap. xii. 11. reckons the duration of this profanation by the number of 1290 days, which can neither be applied to the days of the profanation of Antiochus nor to those of Antichrist, for it exceeds both by the number of 30. Many things may be said for the probable solving of this difficulty, but I shall offer at none of them. Those that shall live to see the extirpation of Antichrist, which will be at the end of those years, will best be able to unfold this matter, it being of the nature of such prophecies not thoroughly to be understood till they are thoroughly fulfilled.

But in the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, all the prophecies of Daniel that were concerning him, or any other of the Macedonian kings that reigned either in Egypt or Asia, having, as far as they related only to them, a full ending, I shall here also end this book.

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[f] 1 Maccab. i. 29—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26.
[g] 1 Maccab. iv. 41—60. [h] Revelations xi. 3. xii. 6.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES being dead, was succeeded in the kingdom [a] by Antiochus his son, a minor of nine years old. Before his death, he called to him Philip, a favourite of his, and one of those who had been brought up with him, and constituting him regent of the Syrian empire, during the minority of his son, delivered to him his crown, his signet, and all other his ensigns of royalty, giving him in especial charge carefully to bring up his son in such manner as should best qualify him to reign. But when Philip came to Antioch, he found this office there usurped by another. For [b] Lysias, as soon as he heard of the death of Epiphanes, took Antiochus his son, who was then under his care, and placed him on the throne, giving him the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assumed to himself the tuition of his person, and the government of his kingdom,

Anno 164. Judas Maccabæus 3.

[a] Appianus in Syriacis. Eusebius in Chron. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. and x. 10, 11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 14.

[b] 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Mac. x. 11. Appian. & Joseph. ibid.

without any regard had to the appointment of the dead king. And Philip, finding himself too weak to contend with him about it, [c] fled into Egypt, hoping there to have such assistance as should enable him to make good his claim to that which Lysias had usurped from him.

At this time [d] Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, from being a great enemy to the Jews, becoming their friend, remitted of the rigour of his persecutions against them, and, as far as in him lay, endeavoured to have peace made with them; which handle being laid hold of by some of the courtiers to accuse him before the king, they sat very hard upon him, calling him traitor at every word, because, having been trusted by Ptolemy Philometor with the government of Cyprus, he had gone over to Antiochus Epiphanes, and treacherously delivered up that island unto him: for it seems, how beneficial soever the treason was, the traitor was still odius unto them for it. Whereon he was deprived of his government, and Lysias was placed in it in his stead; and, no other station being assigned him where he might be supported with honour or sufficiency of maintenance suitable to his degree, he could not bear this fall, and therefore poisoned himself and died. And this was an end which his treachery to his former master, and the great hand he had in the cruel and unjust persecution of the Jews sufficiently deserved.

In the interim Judas Maccabæus was not idle: for hearing [e] how the neighbouring nations of the Heathens had confederated to destroy the whole race of Israel, and had already begun it by cutting off as many of them as were within their power (as hath been above mentioned,) he marched out with his forces to be revenged on them: and whereas [f] the Edomites had been the forwardest in this conspiracy, and, having joined with Gorgias, who was governor for the king of Syria in the parts thereabout, had done them much mischief, he began first with them, and, [g] having fallen into that part of their country which was called Acrabattene, he there slew of them no fewer than 20,000 men. From thence he led them [h] against the children of Bean, another tribe of the Edomites that had been very troublesome to them; and, having beaten them out of the field, shut them up in two of their strongest

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[c] 2 Maccab. ix. 29.
[d] 2 Maccab. x. 11—13.
[e] 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2.
[f] 2 Maccab. x. 14, 15.
[g] 1 Maccab. v. 3. 2 Mac. x. 16, 17.
[h] 1 Mac. v. 4, 5. 2 Mac. x. 18—23.

fortresses; and, after having besieged them there for some time, at length took them both, and put all he found in them to the sword, who were above 20,000 more. Some few were saved from this carnage by bribing some of the soldiers to let them escape; but Judas, [i] having gotten knowledge of it, convicted them of the treachery before the rest of the people of the Jews that were with him, and caused them to be put to death for it.

After this [k] Judas passed over Jordan into the land of the Ammonites, where he had many conflicts with the enemies of the Jews; and, having slain great numbers of them, took Jazar, with the villages belonging thereto, and then returned again into Judea.

Timotheus, who was governor for the king of Syria in those parts, the same whom Judas had overcome two years before, being much exasperated by this inroad made upon his province, [l] gathered together all the forces he was able, even a very great army both of horse and foot, and with them invaded Judea, purposing no less than utterly to destroy the whole nation of the Jews. Whereon Judas went forth with his army to meet him, and having all, with humble supplication and earnest prayer, recommended their cause to God, in confidence of his merciful assistance, engaged these numerous forces with such courage and vigour, that they overthrew them with a great slaughter, there being then slain of them 20,500 foot, and 600 horsemen. Whereon Timotheus fled to Gazara, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, near the field of battle, where Chereus his brother was governor. Judas, pursuing them thither, beset the place; and, having taken it on the 5th day, there slew Timotheus, Chereas, his brother, and Apollophanes, another prime leader of the army.

The Heathen nations [m] that lived about the land of Gilead hearing of this overthrow, and the death of so many of their friends that were slain in it, for the revenge hereof, gathered together with purpose, to cut off and destroy all the Jews in those parts: and falling first on those that dwelt in the land of Tob, which lay to the East of Gilead, slew 1000 men of them, took their goods for a spoil, and carried their wives and children into captivity. Whereon most of the other Jews that dwelt in those parts, for the avoiding of the like ruin,

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[i] 2 Maccabees x. 21, 22.
[k] 1 Maccabees v. 6—8.
[l] 2 Maccabees x. 24—38.
[m] 1 Maccabees v. 9—13.

fled to a strong fortress in Gilead called Dathema, and there resolved to defend themselves: which the Heathens hearing of, forthwith drew thither in a great body, under the command of another Timotheus, the successor, and most likely the son of the former Timotheus that was slain at Gazara, to besiege them. At the same time [n] the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and the other Heathens thereabout, were drawing together to cut off and destroy all the Jews of Galilee, in the same manner as had been attempted in Gilead. Judas being hereon sent to for help both from Gilead and Galilee on this exigency, [o] by the advice of the sanhedrim, or general council of the Jews, whom he consulted on this occasion, divided his army into three parts. With the first part, consisting of 8000 men, [p] he and Jonathan his brother marched for the relief of the Gileadites; with the [p] second, consisting of 3000, Simon, another of his brothers, was sent into Galilee; and [q] the rest were left at Jerusalem, under the command of Joseph and Azarias, two prime leaders, for the defence of that place and the country adjacent, to whom Judas gave strict charge not to engage with any of the enemy, but to stand wholly on the defensive, till he and Simon should be again returned.

Judas and Jonathan [r] passing over Jordan, in their way from thence to Gilead, marched through some part of the country of the Nabathæans; with whom having peace, they learned from them the great distress which their friends were then in; for not only those in Dathema were hardly pressed by a strict siege, but all the rest of the Jewish nation that were in Bossora, Bosor, Casphon, Maked, and the other cities of Gilead, were there closely shut up and imprisoned with intention, on the taking of the fortress of Dathema, to have them all put to death in one day. Whereon Judas and Jonathan, immediately falling on Bossora, surprised the city, and, having slain all the males, taken their spoils, and freed their brethren who were there imprisoned for slaughter, set the city on fire; and then, marching all night from thence towards Dathema, came thither the next morning, just as Timotheus and all his forces were storming the place; whereon falling on them behind, they put them all to the rout; for, being surprised with this sudden and unexpected assault, and terrified with the name of

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[n] 1 Maccabees v. 13, 14.
[o] 1 Maccabees v. 16, 17.
[p] 1 Maccabees v. 20.
[q] 1 Maccabees v. 18, 19.
[r] 1 Maccabees v. 24—36.

Judas, they were seized with a panic fright, and therefore immediately flung down their arms and fled; and Judas slew of them in the pursuit about 8000 men. After this, Judas took Maspha, Casphon, Maked, Bosor, and all the other cities of Gilead where the Jews were oppressed; and, having thereby delivered them from the destruction designed for them, he treated all those places in the same manner as he had Bossora, that is, slew all the males, took their spoils, and set the cities on fire, and then returned to Jerusalem.

And Simon's success in Galilee was not much inferior: [s] for, on his coming into that country, he had there many conflicts and encounters with the enemy, in all which carrying the victory, he at length drove all those oppressors out of the country, and, having pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, slew of them in that pursuit about 3000 men, and took their spoils. But, finding that the Jews of those parts could not well be any longer there protected, by reason of the great number of their enemies in the regions round about them, and the difficulty of succouring them at so great a distance from Jerusalem, he gathered them all together, men, women, and children, with their stuff and all other their substance, to carry them with him into the land of Judah, where being nearer to the protection of their brethren, they might live under it in better security. And he having, accordingly, on his return, brought them thither with him, they were disposed of for the repeopling those places which had been desolated by the enemy during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Thus the two parties, that were sent forth on the two expeditions mentioned, had both full success in them, and returned with honour and triumph. But it did not so happen to the third party that was left at home. For [t] Joseph and Azarias, who were entrusted with the command of them, hearing of the noble exploits which Judas and Jonathan did in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, thought to get them also a name by doing the like; and therefore, contrary to the orders that had been strictly given them by Judas on his departure, not to fight with any till he and Simon should be again returned, led forth their forces in an ill projected expedition against Jamnia, a sea-port on the Mediterranean, thinking to take the place. But Gorgias, who commanded in those parts for the king of Syria, falling upon them, put their whole army to

[s] 1 Maccabees v. 21—23. [t] 1 Maccabees v. 55—62.

flight, and slew of them in the pursuit about 2000 men. Thus this rash attempt, made contrary to orders given, ended in the confusion of those that undertook it. But [u] Judas and his brothers, for their noble deeds and many valiant exploits, grew greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and also among the Heathens wherever their names were heard of.

Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, who had, from the year in which his father died, been an hostage at Rome, and was now grown up to the 23d year of his age, hearing of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the succession of Eupator his son in the kingdom of Syria, which of right belonged to him, as son of the elder brother of Epiphanes, [x] moved the senate for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom; and, for the inducing them hereto, alleged, that, having been bred up in that city from his childhood, he should always look on Rome as his country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. But the senate, having more regard to their own interest than to the right of Demetrius, judged it would be more for the advantage of the Romans to have a boy reign in Syria than a thorough grown man, and one of mature understanding, as Demetrius was then known to be; and therefore decreed for the confirming of Eupator in the kingdom, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, ambassadors into Syria, there to settle his affairs, and regulate them according to the articles of the peace which they had made with Antiochus the Great, his grandfather.

Lysias, having received an account of the exploits of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee, was thereby much exasperated against them; [y] and therefore, for the revenging hereof, having gotten together an army of 60,000 men, with all the horse of the kingdom, and 80 elephants, marched with all this power to invade Judea, purposing to make Jerusalem an habitation for the Gentiles, and to make a gain of the temple as of the other temples of the Heathens, and to set the high-priesthood to sale; and, being entered the country, he began the war with the siege of Bethsura, a strong fortress lying between Jerusalem and Idumea, which hath been before spoken of. But there

Anno 163. Judas Maccabæus 4.

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[u] 1 Maccabees v. 63.

[x] Polyb. legat. 107. p. 937. Justin. lib. 34. c. 3. Appian. in Syriacis.

[y] 2 Maccab. xi. 1—38.

Judas falling upon him, slew of his army 11,000 foot, and 1600 horsemen, and put all the rest to flight. Whereon Lysias, growing weary of so unprosperous a war, came to terms of peace with Judas and his people, and Antiochus ratified the same, in which matter the Jews found Q. Memmius and T. Manlius, who were then ambassadors from the Romans in Syria, to be very friendly and helpful unto them. By the terms of this peace, the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes for the obliging of the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks was wholly rescinded, and liberty was granted them every where to live according to their own laws. This treaty was managed on the part of Judas by two Jews, named John and Absolom, whom he sent to Lysias with his demands. The letter which Lysias wrote back in answer hereto, [z] bore date in the month *Dioscorinthius* (or, as in the vulgar Latin, *Dioscorus*,) in the year 148. But there is no such name of a month to be found either in the Syro-Macedonian, or in any other kalendar of those times. [a] Scaliger and [b] Archbishop Usher conjecture, that it was an intercalary month cast in between the months Dystrus and Xanthicus in the Chaldean kalendar, in the same manner as the month Veadar was cast in between the months Adar and Nisan in the Jewish kalendar. And they are the more confirmed in this opinion, because the month Xanthicus, which seems to have followed immediately after the said month called *Dioscorinthius*, or *Dioscorus* (for all the other letters and instruments that after followed relating to this peace are dated in the month Xanthicus in the same year,) answered to the Jewish month Nisan, and, beginning about the same time with it, was the first month of the spring among the Syrians, as Nisan was among the Jews. But neither the Syrians, Macedonians, nor Chaldeans, having any such intercalary month in their year, it seems more likely, that *Dioscorinthius*, or *Dioscorus*, was a corrupt writing for Dystrus (the month immediately preceding Xanthicus in the Syro-Macedonian kalendar,) made by the error of the scribes. If any one will say, that the month Dius among the Corinthians did answer to the month Dystrus of the Syro-Macedonians, because [c] Dius among the Bithynians did so; and that,

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[z] 2 Maccab. xi. 21.

[a] De emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. c. de Periodo Syro-Macedonum, p. 98.

[b] In Annalibus sub anno J. P. 4551.

[c] Vide Jacobum Usserium Armachanum de Macedonum & Asianorum Anno Solari, c. 4.

for this reason, it is in the place above called, Ἀπὸ Κορινθίων, I have nothing to say against it, because it is not any where said, that I know of, what form the Corinthians framed their year by. And it is further to be taken notice of, that, whereas the dates of all the instruments concerning this peace, as registered [d] in the places cited, are in the 148th year of the Seleucidæ, this is to be understood according to the style of Chaldea, and not according to the style of Syria. For the style of Chaldea began one year after the style of Syria, [e] as hath been before observed; and therefore, what is here said to have been done in the 148th year of the Chaldean reckoning, was in the 149th year of the Syrian. And whereas, in the chronological table at the end of this Book, the 150th year, and not the 149th year, of the æra of the Seleucidæ, is put over against the 163d year before Christ, under which I place this treaty, it is not to be understood that these two years run parallel with each other from beginning to end, so as exactly to answer each other in every part, but only, that the said 150th year had its beginning in the said 163d year before Christ, though not at the same time with it; for the Julian year, by which I reckon the years before Christ, begins from the first of January; but the years of the æra of the Seleucidæ, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, did not begin till about the time of the vernal equinox, three months after, and, according to the reckoning of the second book of Maccabees, not till about the time of the autumnal equinox, nine months after. And therefore the said three months of the 163d year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, and the said nine months of the same 163d year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the same 150th year, according to the reckoning of the second book of Maccabees, are not to be accounted to the said 150th year, but to the year preceding, that is, to the 149th year according to the style of Syria, which was the 148th year according to the style of Chaldea. And what is said in this place of this 163d year before Christ, and of the said 150th year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, is to be understood of all the rest of the years of the said two æras as placed against each other in the said tables, for they no otherwise answer each other than is here expressed.

[d] 2 Maccab. xi. 21, 33, 38.

[e] Part I. book 8. sub annis. 312, & 311.

But this peace granted the Jews was not long lived. [f] Those who governed in the neighbouring places round about them, not being pleased with it, broke it as soon as Lysias was gone again to Antioch, and took all opportunities to renew their former vexations against them, among whom Timotheus, Nicanor, and Apollonius, the son of Gennæus, were the most forward and active in troubling them. But [g] that war was first begun by the men of Joppa; for they having there drowned in the sea 200 of the Jews that dwelt among them in that city, Judas, for the revenging of this cruelty, fell upon them by night, and burned their shipping, slaying all those whom he found therein; and then [h] turning upon the Jamnites, who intended to do the like, he set fire to their haven, and burned all their navy, that was there laid up in it.

After this, he was [i] called again to help the Jews of Gilead against Timotheus. In his march thither, he was [k] encountered by some of the Nomad, or wandering Arabs; but, he having vanquished them, they were forced to sue for peace; which, Judas, having granted to them, marched on against Timotheus: but, [l] meeting with obstructions in his march from the men of Caspis, a city that lay in his way, he fell upon them, and, having taken their city, slew the inhabitants, took their spoils, and destroyed the place. After this [m] he came to Caraca in the land of Tob; but finding that Timotheus was gone from thence, leaving strong garrisons in the fenced places of that country, he sent Dositheus and Sosipator, two of his captains with a detachment against those garrisons, and he himself marched with the main army to find out Timotheus. Dositheus and Sosipator soon made themselves masters of those fenced places which they were sent against, and slew those that were garrisoned in them to the number of 10,000 men. In [n] the meanwhile Timotheus, having drawn all his forces together, to the number of 120,000 foot, and 2500 horse, sent the women and children that followed the army, with the baggage into Carnion, a strong city in Gilead, and then pitched his camp not far from it, at a place called Raphon, lying on the river Jaboc. There Judas having found him, with his numerous army, passed over the

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[f] 2 Maccab. xii. 2—4.
[g] 2 Maccab. xii. 5, 6.
[h] 2 Maccab. xii. 8, 9.
[i] 2 Maccab. xii. 10.
[k] 2 Maccab. xii. 11, 12.
[l] 2 Maccab. xii. 13—16.
[m] 2 Maccab. xii. 17—19.
[n] 1 Maccab. v. 37—43. 2 Maccab. xii. 20—23.

river, and fell upon him; and, having gained the victory, slew of his army 30,000 men; and [o] Timotheus himself, as he fled, falling into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipator, then returning from their conquests in the land of Tob to the rest of the army was taken prisoner by them. But having promised, for the saving of his life, the release of many Jews then captives in the places under his command, who were several of them parents or brothers to some then present in the Jewish army, upon this condition they gave him both his life and his liberty, and permitted him to go freely off. A great part of the rest of the vanquished army fled to [p] Carnion, where Judas pursuing them, took the place; and whereas many of them thereon fled to the temple of [q] Atargatis, which was in that city, thinking there to find safety, [r] he set fire to it, and burned it with all that were therein, and then, with fire and sword desolating the rest of the city, there slew in the whole 25,000 more of Timotheus' forces that had taken refuge in it. And then [s] gathering together all of the race of Israel that were in the land of Gilead, or any of the parts adjoining, he carried them with him, in his return to Judea, in the same manner and for the same reason that Simon had the Israelites of Galilee the year before, and, for the same end as he did, planted them in the desolated places of the land of Judah. But, being in his way thither to pass through Ephron, which lay directly in the road, so as not to afford any other passage either to the right hand or the left, through which he might else march his army, he [t] was necessitated to take his way

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[o] 2 Maccab. xii. 24, 25.

[p] This city, in the first book of Maccabees, is called Carnaim. Strabo and Ptolemy make mention of it by the name of Carno, a city in Arabia.

[q] This deity is by Strabo (lib. 16. p. 748.) said to be a Syrian goddess. Pliny (lib. 5. c. 23.) saith, that she was the same with Derceto; and he tells us (c. 13.) that she was worshipped at Joppa in Phœnicia. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. saith, that she was worshipped at Ascalon, and was there represented by an image having the form of a woman in the upper part, and that of a fish in the lower part. Hence this deity is conjectured to have been the same with Dagon of the Philistines. See Selden de Diis Syris, syntag. 2. c. 3.

[r] 1 Maccab. v. 44. 2 Maccab. xii. 26.

[s] 1 Maccab. v. 45.

[t] 1 Maccab. v. 46—51. 2 Maccab. xii. 27, 28.

through the city itself: but it being a great and strong city, and well garrisoned by Lysias, they refused him passage, though he prayed it of them in a peaceable manner: whereon he assaulted the place, and having taken it by storm, put all the males to the sword, to the number of 25,000 persons, took their spoils, and razed the city to the ground, and then, marching over the bellies of the slain [s] repassed Jordan into the plains of Bethsan, then called Scythopolis; and from thence returning to Jerusalem, [t] he and all his company went up to the temple in great joy to give thanks unto God for the great success with which he had been pleased to prosper this expedition, and especially for that they were all of them returned in safety, without losing any one man of all their whole number, notwithstanding the hazardous march and the many dangerous enterprises they had been engaged in, which was a very extraordinary instance of God's merciful protection over them. This their return [u] happened about the time of Pentecost.

After the festival was over, Judas [x] led forth his forces again to make war upon Gorgias and the Idumeans, who had been very vexatious to the Jews. In the battle which he fought with them [y] several of the Jews were slain; but in the result Judas got the victory, and Gorgias, difficultly escaping, fled to Marisa. The [z] next day after being the sabbath, Judas withdrew with his forces to Odollam, a city near the field of battle, there to keep the day in all the duties of it. The [a] next day following, going forth to bury such of their brethren as were slain in the battle, they found about every one of them some of the things that had been dedicated to the idols of the Heathens; which, although taken by them among the spoils of that war, were [b] forbidden by the law to be kept by them; whereby perceiving for what cause God had given them up to be slain, Judas and all his company gave praise unto him, and humbly offered up their prayers for the pardon of the sin. And then making a collection through the whole camp, which amounted to 2000 drachms, sent it to Jerusalem to provide sin-offerings there to be offered up for the expiating of this offence, that wrath for it might not fall upon the

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[s] 1 Maccab. v. 52. 2 Maccab. xii. 29—31.
[t] 1 Maccab. v. 54. [u] 2 Maccab. xii. 31.
[x] 1 Maccab. v. 65. 2 Maccab. xii. 32, 33.
[y] 2 Maccab. xii. 33—37. [a] 2 Maccab. xii. 39—45.
[z] 2 Maccab. xii. 38. [b] Deut. vii. 25, 26.

whole congregation of Israel, as formerly it had in the case of Achan.

After this [c] Judas, carrying the war into the southern parts of Idumea, smote Hebron and all the towns thereof; and, after having dismantled this city, then the metropolis of Idumea, he passed from thence into the land of the Philistines; and, having taken Azotus, formerly called Ashdod, he pulled down their Heathen altars, burned their carved images, and took the spoils of the place; and, having done the same to the rest of the cities of that country over which he had prevailed, he led back his men, loaded with the spoils of their enemies, again into Judea.

But the garrison of the Syrians still holding the fortress of Acra in Jerusalem, they were a great thorn in the sides of the Jews, often sallying out upon them as they passed up to the temple to worship, and cutting several of them off as often as they had the advantage so to do. Wherefore Judas, for the removal of this mischief, [d] called all the people together, and laid siege to the place, purposing to destroy it; and, in order hereto, having provided all manner of engines of war fit for the purpose, he pressed on hard all the methods of assault whereby he might take it. Hereon [e] some of the apostate Jews who had listed themselves in the garrison, knowing they were to have no mercy, should the place be taken, found means to get forth, and, flying to Antioch, there made known to the king and his council the distress which this garrison at Jerusalem was in, and moved so effectually for their relief, that forthwith [f] an army was drawn together of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, with 32 elephants, and 300 armed chariots of war; and the king in person, with his tutor Lysias, having put himself at the head of them, marched with them into Judea, and, passing on to the borders of Idumea, there began the war with the siege of Bethsura. [g] Judas, having gotten his forces together, though far inferior to those of the enemy, there fell on them in the night, and, having slain 4000 of them before they had light enough to see where to oppose him, and thereby put the whole camp into confusion, he retreated, on break of day, without suffering any loss in the attempt. But, as soon as morning was up, [h] both sides prepared for an open

[c] 1 Maccab. vi. 19, 20.
[d] 1 Maccab. vi. 28, 31. 2 Maccab. xiii. 1, 2—9.
[e] 1 Maccab. vi. 2. 2 Maccab. xiii. 15—17.
[f] 1 Maccab. v. 65—68.
[g] 1 Maccab. vi. 21—27.
[h] 1 Maccab. vi. 33—42.

battle, and Judas and his men, with great fierceness, began the onset; but, after having slain about 600 of the king's men, finding they must be overpowered at length by so great a number, [i] they withdrew from the fight, and made a safe retreat to Jerusalem. In this fight [k] Eleazar, surnamed Averan, one of Judas' brothers, was lost by a very rash and desperate attempt which he made upon one of the king's elephants. For, seeing it to be higher than all the rest, and armed with royal harness, he supposed that the king himself was upon it; and therefore thinking, that, by slaying this elephant, he might with the fall of it cause the death of the king also, and thereby deliver his people, and gain to himself a perpetual name, he ran furiously to the beast, slaying on each hand all that stood in his way, till, being gotten under its belly, he thrust up his spear and slew him; whereon the beast falling dead upon him, crushed him to death with the weight thereof. After this Antiochus [l] returned to the siege of Bethsura; and, although the besieged defended themselves with great valour, and in several sallies beat back the enemy, and burned their engines of battery, yet at length, their provisions failing them, they were forced to yield, and surrender the place upon articles of safety to their persons and effects.

From thence [m] Antiochus marched to Jerusalem, and there besieged the sanctuary: and, when they within were almost reduced to the same necessity of surrendering that those of Bethsura had been, by reason of the like failure of provisions, they were relieved by an unexpected accident. For [n] Lysias, having received an account, that Philip, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had at his death appointed guardian of his son, had, in his absence, seized Antioch, and there taken upon him the government of the Syrian empire, [o] he found it necessary to make peace with the Jews, that he might thereby be at liberty to return into Syria for expelling of this intruder; and accordingly peace being granted to them upon honourable and advantageous conditions, and sworn to by Antiochus, he was admitted within the fortifications of the sanctuary; but, [p] when he saw how strong they were, he caused them, contrary

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[i] 1 Maccab. vi. 47.
[k] 1 Maccab. vi. 43—46.
[l] 1 Maccab. vi. 49, 50. 2 Maccab. xii. 18—22.
[m] 1 Maccab. vi. 48, 51—54.
[n] 1 Maccab. vi. 55, 56. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23.
[o] 1 Maccab. vi. 57—61.
[p] 1 Maccab. vi. 62.

to the articles he had sworn to, to be all pulled down and demolished, and then returned towards Syria.

[q] Menelaus the high-priest, in expectation not only of recovering his station at Jerusalem, but also of being made governor there, accompanied the king in this expedition, and was very forward and busy in offering him his service in it against his own people. But Lysias, when he found what great inconveniences attended this war, and was, by the ill consequences of it, forced to make the peace I have mentioned, being much exasperated against this wretch, as the true and original author of all this mischief, accused him to the king for it; whereon he was condemned to death, and, being carried to Berhœa, [r] a city of Syria, was there cast headlong into a tower of ashes which was in that place, and there miserably perished. This was a punishment then used for sacrilege, treason, and such other great crimes which this wretch was very signally guilty of: in what manner it was executed hath been before described. On his death, the office of high priest was granted to [s] Alcimus, who was called also Jacimus, a man altogether as wicked. Whereon [t] Onias, the son of that Onias, who, by the procurement of Menelaus, was slain at Antioch, whose right it was to have succeeded in this office, not being able to bear the injustice whereby he was disappointed of it, fled from Antioch, where he had hitherto resided since his father's death, and went into Egypt; where, having insinuated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his queen, he lived there all the rest of his life, and will hereafter more than once be again spoken of in the future series of this history.

This expedition into Judea is said, in the [u] second book of Maccabees, to have been begun in the 149th year, *i. e.* of the æra of the Seleucidæ, and, in [x] the first book of Maccabees, its beginning is placed in the 150th of the same æra. But what hath been before observed, that the first book of Maccabees reckons the beginning of these years from the time of the vernal equinox, and the second book of Maccabees from the time of the autumnal equinox, easily reconciles this dif-

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[q] 2 Maccab. xiii. 3—8.

[r] The same that is now called Aleppo.

[s] 2 Maccab. xiv. 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 15. & lib. 20. c. 8.

[t] Josephus, ibid.

[u] Chap. xiii. ver. 1.

[x] Chap. vi. ver. 20.

ference: for the six months of this very same year which were between these two equinoxes will be in the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, and in the 149th, according to the reckoning of the second. And therefore all that can be inferred from hence is, that this expedition was first made within the time of these six months, and I reckon it was so towards the latter end of them.

On the king's return to Antioch, [y] Philip was driven thence and suppressed. I have before mentioned the flight of this Philip into Egypt, in expectation there to be assisted against Lysias. But the two brothers who there jointly reigned at this time being then fallen out, and at great variance with each other, he found nothing could be there done for him; and therefore returning again into the East, and having [z] there gathered together an army out of Media and Persia, took the advantage of the king's absence on this expedition into Judea to seize the imperial city, but, being on the king's return again expelled thence, he failed of success in this attempt, and perished in it.

The variance between the two Ptolemies in Egypt, which I have last above mentioned, running to a great height, the senate of Rome [a] wrote to their ambassadors Cneius Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius, whom they had a little before sent into Syria, to pass from thence to Alexandria for the composing of it. But, before they could go thither, Physcon, the younger brother, prevailing over Philometor, the elder, [b] had driven him out of the kingdom. Whereon [c] taking shipping for Italy, he landed at Brundusium, and from thence travelled to Rome on foot in a sordid habit, and with a mean attendance, there to pray the help of the senate for his restoration. [c] Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, late king of Syria, who was then an hostage at Rome, as above mentioned, having gotten notice hereof, provided a royal equipage, and royal robes for him, that he might appear at Rome, as a king, and rode forth to carry all this to him:

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[y] 1 Maccab. vi. 63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 15.
[z] 1 Maccab. vi. 56.
[a] Polyb. legat. 107. p. 938.
[b] Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. p. 60. & 68.
[c] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 322. Val. Maximus, lib. 5. c. 1.

but, on his meeting him on the road, at 26 miles distance from Rome, and presenting him with it, Ptolemy, though he very much thanked him for the kindness and respects hereby offered unto him, yet was so far from accepting any thing of it, that he would not permit him so much as to accompany him the remainder of the journey, but entered Rome on foot, with no other than the same mean attendance and the same sordid habit with which he first put himself on this journey, and took up his lodging in the private house of an Alexandrian painter then living at Rome. Thus he chose to do, that, by his coming in so low and mean a manner, he might the better express the calamity of his case, and the more effectually move the compassion of the Romans towards him. As soon as the senate heard of his arrival, they sent for him to the senate-house, and there excused themselves to him, that they had not provided him with lodgings, nor received him with those ceremonies which were usual in this case, telling him, that this was not from any neglect of theirs, but merely that his coming was so sudden and private, that they knew not of it till his arrival. And then, having exhorted him to lay aside his sordid habit, and ask a day to be publicly heard concerning the matter he came thither about, they, by some of their body, conducted him to lodgings suiting his royal dignity, and appointed one of their treasurers there to attend him, and provide him with all things fitting at the public charge, as long as he should stay in Rome. And when he had a day of audience, and made known his case, they immediately decreed his restoration, and sent Quintus and Canuleius, two of their body, ambassadors with him to Alexandria, there to see it executed; who, on their arrival thither, compounded the matter between the two brothers, [d] by assigning to Physcon the country of Libya and Cyrene, and to Philometor Egypt and Cyprus, there to reign apart, without interfering with each other in the government.

Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, the Roman ambassadors above mentioned, being come into Syria, and finding that the king had more ships in his navy, and more elephants in his army, than the treaty made with Antiochus the Great, after the Anno 162. Judas Maccabæus 5.

[d] Polyb. leg. 113. & 114. p. 291—293. Epit. Livii, lib. 46. Zonor. lib. 2.

battle of Mount Sipylus, allowed him to have, [e] they caused those ships to be burned, and those elephants to be slain, that exceeded the number allowed, and settled all other things there according as they thought would best be for the Roman interest. Which many not being able to bear, and great heart-burning and discontents being thereby caused among the people, one of them, called Leptines, out of a more than ordinary indignation which he had conceived hereat, fell upon Octavius, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium at Laodicea, and there slew him. This Octavius had been a little before consul of Rome, and was the [f] first that brought that dignity into his family. From him was descended Octavius Cæsar, who, under the name of Augustus, was afterwards made emperor of Rome. Lysias was thought under-hand to have excited this act. However, as soon as it was done, he took care that ambassadors were sent to Rome, to purge the king with the senate from having had any hand in it. But the senate, after having heard those ambassadors, sent them away without giving them any answer, seeming thereby to express their resentments for the murder of their ambassador by an angry silence, and to reserve their judgment as to the authors of it to a future inquiry.

Demetrius, thinking this murder of Octavius might so far have alienated the senate from Eupator, as that they would no longer for his sake retard his dismission, [g] addressed himself the second time to them for it. Apollonius, a young nobleman of Syria, who was bred up with him, and son to that Apollonius [h] who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia in the reign of Seleucus Philopater, advised him to this address, contrary to the advice of his other friends, whose opinion it was, that he had nothing else to do for his getting away but to make his escape as privately as he could. And the second repulse which he had from the senate (for they, still having the same reason for their interest to detain him, persisted still in the same resolution so to do) soon convinced him, that this last was the only course he had to take for his return into his own country, and the recovering of the crown

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[e] Appian. in Syriacis. Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954. Ciceronis Philippic. 9.

[f] Cicero, ibid.

[g] Polyb. legat. 114. p. 943. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 4. c. 33.

[h] 1 Maccab. ii. 3—5.

which was there due unto him. And Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, and with whom Demetrius consulted in all this matter, earnestly pressed him to the attempt. Whereon having, by the help of Menithyllus of Alabanda, hired passage in a Carthaginian ship, then lying at Ostia, and bound for Tyre, he sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to Anagnia, making shew of following them the next day thither to divert himself in that country for some time in hunting. But, as soon as he was risen from supper, getting privately that night to Ostia, he there went on board the Carthaginian ship, and, causing it forthwith to set sail, made his escape therein. For, it being thought that he had been at the place where he had appointed his hunting, it was the fourth day after he had sailed from Ostia before his escape was known at Rome; and, when on the fifth day the senate was met about it, they computed, that by that time he had passed the straits of Messina, and got on from thence in his voyage too far to be overtaken, and therefore took no further notice of it. Only some few days after, they appointed Tiberius Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucias, their ambassadors, to pass into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius into that country would there produce.

The occasion which brought Menithyllus of Alabanda to Rome at this time, was [1] an embassy on which he was thither sent by Ptolemy Philometor to defend his cause before the senate against Physcon his brother: for Physcon, not being contented with the share allotted him in the partition of the Egyptian empire between him and his brother, desired that, besides Libya and Cyrene, he might have Cyprus also assigned to him. And, when he could not obtain this of the ambassadors, he went himself to Rome, there to solicit the senate for it. When he appeared before the senate with his petition, Menithyllus made it out, that Physcon owed not only Libya and Cyrene, but his life also, to the favour and kindness of his brother. For he had made himself so odious to the people, by his many flagitious mal-administrations in the government, that they would have permitted him neither to reign nor live, had not Philometor interposed, to save him from their rage. And Quintus and Canuleius, who were the ambassadors that made the agreement between the two brothers, being then present in the senate, did there attest all this to be true: Yet, notwithstanding, the senate, having more re-

[1] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. & legat. 117. p. 950.

gard to their own interest than the justice of the cause, decreed Cyprus to be given to Physcon, because they thought Philometor would be too potent with that and Egypt together: and therefore they appointed Titus Torquatus and Cneius Merula to go with him as their ambassadors for the putting him in possession of it, according as they had decreed.

While Physcon was at Rome on this occasion, [k] he courted Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, desiring to have her for his queen: but, being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul, and once censor of Rome, she despised the offer, thinking it to be a greater honour to be one of the prime matrons of Rome, than to reign with Physcon in Libya and Cyrene.

In the interim [l] Demetrius, landing at Tripolis in Syria, made it believed, that he was sent by the Roman senate to take possession of the kingdom, and that he would be supported by them in it. Whereon Eupator's cause being in the general opinion given for lost, all deserted from him to Demetrius; and Eupator, and Lysias his tutor, being seized by their own soldiers, in order to be delivered up to the new comer, were by his order both put to death. And so without any further opposition he became thoroughly settled in the whole kingdom.

As soon as Demetrius was fixed on the throne, [m] one of the first things he did was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides. These being the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, he made the first of them governor, and the other treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death, and the other he drove into banishment. This was so acceptable a deliverance to the Babylonians, whom these two brothers had most grievously oppressed, that they from hence called him *Soter*, i. e. *the Saviour*; which name he ever afterward bore.

Alcimus, who, on the death of Menelaus, was by Antiochus Eupator appointed high priest of the Jews, [n] not being received by them, because he had polluted himself, by conforming to the ways of the Greeks in the time of Antiochus Epi-

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[k] Plutarch. in Tiberio Graccho.

[l] 1 Maccab. vii. 1—4. 2 Maccab. xiv. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 16. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 34. c. 3.

[m] Appianus in Syriacis. [n] 2 Maccabees xiv. 3.

phanes, [o] got together all the other apostate Jews, then living at Antioch, who had for their apostasy been expelled Judea, and went on the head of them to the new king, to pray his relief against Judas and his brethren, accusing them of slaying many of the king's friends, and driving others out of the country, as particularly they had them his petitioners, for no other reason, but that they had obeyed the royal edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes his uncle, who had reigned before him. And hereby he so exasperated Demetrius against Judas and the people with him, [p] that he forthwith ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, with an army into Judea, and having confirmed Alcimus in the office of high priest, joined in the same commission with Bacchides for the carrying on of this war. On their first coming to Judea, they thought to have circumvented Judas and his brethren, and, by fair words, under the shew of making peace with them, to have drawn them into their power, and so have taken them. But they being aware of the fraud, kept out of their reach; which others not being so cautious of, fell into their snare, and being taken in it, were all destroyed by them; among whom were 60 of the Asidæans, and several of the scribes or doctors of their law. For being fond of having an high priest again settled among them, and thinking they could suffer no wrong from one that was of the sons of Aaron, they took his oath of peace, and trusted themselves with him. But he had no sooner gotten them within his power, but he put them all to death; with which the rest being terrified, durst no more confide in him. After this Bacchides returned to the king, leaving with Alcimus part of his forces, to secure him in the possession of the country; with which [q] prevailing for a while, and drawing many deserters to him, he much disturbed the state of Israel. For the remedy whereof, Judas, after Bacchides was fully gone, [r] coming out with his forces again into the field, went round the country, and took vengeance of those that had revolted from him, so that Alcimus and his party were no more able to stand against him. Whereon that wicked disturber of his people, went again to the king, [s] and having presented him with a crown of gold and other gifts, renewed his complaints against Judas and his brethren, telling him, that, as long as Judas lived, his authority could never be

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[o] 1 Maccabees vii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 16.
[p] 1 Maccabees vii. 8—20. [r] 1 Mac. vii. 23, 24.
[q] 1 Mac. vii. 21, 22. [s] 1 Mac. vii. 25. 2 Mac. xiv. 3, 11.

quietly settled in that country, or matters be there ever brought to a lasting state of peace; and all that were about the king, out of hatred to the Jews, saying the same thing, Demetrius was hereby so incensed, that [t] he sent another army against the Jews, under the command of Nicanor their old enemy, commanding him, that he should cut off Judas, disperse his followers, and thoroughly establish Alcimus in his office of high priest. But Nicanor, knowing the prowess of Judas, as [u] having been vanquished by him in a former expedition, was loath to make another trial of it for fear of another defeat; and therefore endeavoured to compose matters by a treaty; and accordingly articles of peace were agreed on between them. And after this Judas and Nicanor conversed in a friendly manner together: But [x] Alcimus not liking this peace, as thinking his interest not sufficiently provided for in it, went the third time to the king, and so prepossessed him against it, that he refused to ratify what was agreed, and sent his positive orders to Nicanor, to go on with the war, and not to cease prosecuting it, till he should have slain Judas, or taken him prisoner, and sent him bound to Antioch. Whereon Nicanor was forced, much against his will, again to renew his former hostilities against Judas and his brethren.

Ptolemy Physcon, [y] having had the island of Cyprus assigned to him by the determination of the senate of Rome, returned thitherward with the two Roman ambassadors, Cneius Merula and Titus Torquatus, who were sent to see him put in possession of it. On his coming [z] into Greece, in his way to it, he hired a great number of mercenaries, thinking by them forthwith to possess himself of the island. But the ambassadors, having acquainted him, that they were sent to introduce him into it, only by way of treaty with his brother, and not by arms, persuaded him again to dismiss all his forces. Whereon, taking Merula with him, he returned into Libya, and Torquatus went to Alexandria. The purpose of these two ambassadors was to bring the two brothers to meet on the borders of their dominions, and there agree the matter between them according to the sentiments of the Roman senate. But when Torquatus came to Alexandria, he found Philometor not easily to be brought to comply with what the senate had decreed concerning this matter. He insisted upon

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[t] 1 Mac. vii. 26—29. 2 Mac. xiv. 17—25.
[u] 1 Mac. iv. 2 Mac. viii.
[x] 2 Mac. xiv. 26—29.
[y] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 942.
[z] Polyb. legat. 115. p. 948.

the former agreement made between him and his brother by Quintus and Canuleius the former ambassadors, which assigned Cyprus to him; and therefore thought it very hard, that it should, contrary to the tenor of that agreement, be now taken from him, and given his brother. However he did not at first peremptorily refuse to yield to the decree of the senate, but wire-drew the treaty to a great length, and between promising as to some things, and excusing himself as to others, he did artfully beat the bush at a distance, and so wasted away the time, without coming to any determination about the matter in hand. In the interim Physcon, with the other ambassador, lay at the port of Apis in Libya, there expecting the result of Torquatus' agency: after long waiting, receiving no intelligence from him to his content, he sent Merula, also to Alexandria, thinking, that both the ambassadors together might act the more effectually with Philometor to bring him to their bent. But Philometor still observed the same conduct, treating them both with all manner of kindness and complaisance, flattering them with courtly words, and endeavouring in all things to please them with as courtly actions; and by this means drilled on the matter with them, for 40 days together, without coming to the point, which was the end of their embassy to him, detaining them all this while at his court rather by force than with their good liking, till at length, finding they could be put off no longer, he plainly declared, that he would stand by the first agreement, and would not yield to the making of any other. And, with this answer, Merula returned again to Physcon and Torquatus to Rome. In the interim, the Cyrenians, understanding how ill Physcon had behaved himself while he reigned at Alexandria, entertained from hence such an aversion against having him for their king, that they rose in arms to keep him out of their country. Whereon Physcon, fearing lest, while he tarried at Apis, in expectation of the investiture of Cyprus, he should lose Cyrene, he hastened thither with all his forces, which he had then with him; but he had the misfortune at first to be overthrown by his rebel subjects; and it is not to be doubted, but that Philometor had an hand in the raising of this combustion, and that it was with a view hereto, that he had delayed so long to give an answer to the Roman ambassadors, that thereby he might give scope for these designs to ripen to execution. Physcon being hereby involved in great difficulties, Merula found him under the pressures of them on his return to him; and they were not a little aggravated by the account,

which he brought him of his brother's final refusing to yield any more to him, than what was given him by the first agreement. He durst not himself go again to Rome, to renew his complaint against his brother about this matter, till the troubles raised against him in Cyrene were again appeased. All, therefore, that he could at present do, [a] was to send two ambassadors with Merula in his stead, to solicit his cause with the senate. These and Merula meeting with Torquatus, on his return from Alexandria, they went all four together to Rome, and there all made their report of the case, much to the disadvantage of Philometor; so that, [b] when the cause came to be heard in the senate, though Menithylus, Philometor's ambassador, spoke much in his behalf, he was not heard with any regard, the senators being generally prepossessed against him, because of his refusal to submit to their decree about Cyprus. And therefore, to express the anger they had conceived against him on this account, they renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassador to depart Rome within five days, and sent two ambassadors from them to Cyrene, to acquaint Physcon with what they had done.

In this year, [c] Bucherius placeth the beginning of the cycle of 84 years, by which the Jews settled the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals. I have before shewn, in the preface to the first part of this history, how they anciently went by the phasis or appearance of the new moon for all this matter: and according hereto the new moons and festivals were then constantly settled by the sanhedrim at Jerusalem. Towards the end of every month they [d] sent out persons into places of the greatest height and eminence about Jerusalem, to observe the appearance of the new moon; and as soon as they saw it appear, they returned and made report thereof to that assembly; and according thereto they appointed their new moons, or first days of every month; and immediately by signs from mountain to mountain, gave notice thereof through the whole land of Judea: according to their new moons and full moons were all their other festivals fixed. And all this might well enough be done as long as the Jews lived within the narrow bounds of Judea. But when, after the time of

[a] Polybius, legat. 116. p. 950.
[b] Polybius, legat. 117. p. 950, 951.
[c] De Antiquo Judæorum Paschali Cyclo, c. 5. p. 377.
[d] Mishna in Rosh Hashana. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Lightfoot's temple Service, c. 11.

Alexander the Great, they became dispersed through all the Grecian colonies in the East, and had in great numbers settled at Alexandria Antioch, and other cities of Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Syria, and Lesser Asia, under the Syro-Macedonian and Egypto-Macedonian kings; this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know at all distant places when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals, all in an uniform manner at the same time. How the eastern Jews, who had ever since the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities been settled in Babylonia, Persia, Media, and other eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, ordered this matter is uncertain. But, since they had in Babylonia, [e] a prince of the captivity for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other country. Most likely it is, that they had an astronomical cycle by which they fixed the new moons, and according to them regulated all the rest. But as to the other Jews, that they all made use of the cycle of 84 years for this purpose is certain. For several of the [f] ancient fathers of the Christian church make mention of it, as that which had been of ancient use among the Jews, and was afterwards borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the fixing

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[e] The Jews anciently had, in most countries of their dispersion, a chief magistrate over them of their own, by whom they were governed in all matters relating to their law, and for whose superintendency they usually purchased a commission from the king under whom they lived. This magistrate in Babylonia, was called in the Jewish language *Rosh Golah*, i. e. *The head of the captivity*; in Greek, *Æmolotarcha*, which is a name of the same signification: and it is pretended that all that bore this office there were of the seed of David. And so in like manner the Jews of Alexandria had their Alabarcha, and the Jews of Antioch their Ethnarcha: and after this they had in most places of their dispersions their patriarchs for the same purpose; and there are, in the imperial laws, edicts concerning them.

[f] Annatolius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Prosper, Victorius, Beda, aliique.

of the time of their Easter, and was the first cycle which was made use of by them for this purpose. It seems to have been made up of the Calippic cycle and the Octoeteris joined together. For it contains just so many days as both these cycles do when added to each other, reckoning the eight years of the Octoeteris and the 76 years of the Calippic cycle by Julian years. For eight Julian years contain 2922 days, and 76 Julian years 27,759 days, and these being added together, make 30,681; which is exactly the number of days that are contained in 84 Julian years, which was the number of this cycle. And therefore it is most likely, that the Jews first began with the use of the Calippic cycle, or, more properly speaking, of the Calippic period; (for, in the language of chronologers, a cycle is a round of several years; and a period, a round of several cycles) and afterwards added the Octoeteris to it, both to render it the more proper for their purpose, and also to make it look as wholly their own. And it is possible so much might have been done this year. But that the Jews at this time, when, after having newly recovered their temple, and restored the true worship of God in it, they were most zealously employed in extirpating all Heathen rites from among them, should first introduce this cycle borrowed from the Heathens, and employ it to a religious use, that is, for the fixing of the times of their new moons and festivals, seems utterly improbable. That which seems most probably to be conjectured concerning this matter, (for nothing but conjecture can be had in it) is, that, when the Jews, in the dispersions after the time of *Alexander the Great*, through the countries I have mentioned, saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations, and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the Greeks the cycle or period of Calippus, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the Greeks reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged, for the reason which I have already mentioned, annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner as the Jews were, had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which, by the help of intercalations, the motions of the sun and the moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same, and all the new moons

and full moons come over again in every cycle in the same manner as they had in the former. For could such a cycle be once fixed, the observing how the new moons and full moons happened in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all cycles after, and there would need no more to be done than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time when every new moon and full moon should happen therein through each month of it; because, in every year of the said cycle, the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time as they had in the same year of the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. Of the attempts which had been made to come at such a cycle by the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, Octoeteris, and Enneadecaeteris, and how they all failed hereof, mention hath been already made. The last came nearest to it of any; the author whereof was Meto, an Athenian, who published it at Athens in the year before Christ 432, which was in the year immediately preceding the Peloponnesian war, where I have at large treated of it. But Meto having reckoned, that the 19 years of his cycle contained just 6940 days, it was found, after 100 years usage of it, that in this computation, he had overshot what he aimed at by a quarter of a day. For 19 Julian years contain no more than 6939 days and 18 hours; and therefore, to mend this fault, Calippus invented his cycle, or period of 76 years, which consisting of four Metonic cycles joined together, he thought to bring all to rights, by leaving out one day at the end of this cycle, making it to consist of no more than 27,759 days, whereas four Metonic cycles joined together make 27,760 days. This Calippus was a famous astronomer of Cyzicus in Mysia, and published his cycle in the year before Christ 330, beginning it from the summer solstice of that year, which was the same year in which Alexander overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela. And this being the cycle which was most in reputation among the Greeks, for the bringing of the reckonings of the sun and moon's motions to an agreement at that time, when the Jews wanted such a cycle for the settling the time of their new moons and full moons and festivals by certain rules of astronomical calculations, it is most likely they then borrowed it from them for this use; and that they might not seem to have any thing among them relating to their religion which was of Heathen usage, they added the Octoeteris to this period of 76 years; and thereby, making it a cycle of 84 years, by this

disguise rendered it wholly their own. For no other nation but the Jews alone used this cycle, till it was borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the same use, that is, to settle the time of their Easter. But the Jews by this addition rather marred than any way mended the matter. For, although the period of Calippus fell short of what it intended, that is, of bringing the motions of the two greater luminaries to an exact agreement) yet it brought them within the reach of 5 hours and 50 minutes of it. But the addition of the Octoeteris did set them at the distance of one day, 6 hours, and 51 minutes. However this they used till Rabbi Hillel's reformation of their kalendar, which was about the year of our Lord 360; during all which time they must necessarily have made some interpolations for the correcting of those excesses whereby one of those luminaries did over-run the other according to that cycle. For otherwise the phasis or appearances of the new moons and full moons would have contradicted the calculations of it to every man's view. But what these interpolations were, or how or when used, we have no account any where given us. Prosper placeth the beginning of the first of those cycles which was used by the Christians in the year of our Lord 46; and, if we reckon backward from thence, we shall find one of them to have its beginning in the year before Christ 291, which was the first year of the portificate of Eleazar at Jerusalem, and the seventh before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. And then it seems most probable that the Jews begun the use of this cycle. For about this time their dispersions, especially in Egypt, made it necessary for them to settle the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals, by astronomical calculations; because at such distances they could not have the order of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem for the directing of them in this matter. But had they then taken the period of Calippus without disguising it by the adding of the eight years of the Octoeteris, to make it look as their own, it would much better have served their purpose. Though I have above said, it is possible that the eight years might have been added where Bucherius placeth the first use of this cycle, yet I mean no more thereby than a bare possibility, and not but that I think it most probable that it was otherwise. For it seemeth to me most likely, that as the Jews first began the use of this cycle at the time I have mentioned, that is, *anno ante Christum* 291, so also doth it, that from that very beginning they fixed it to be a cycle of 84 years, and no otherwise used the Calippic,

but with the addition of eight years after it to make up that number. If we place the beginning of the first cycle of these 84 years, at the year before Christ 291, the second cycle will begin, anno 207, the third cycle, anno 123, the fourth cycle, anno 39, and the fifth cycle, at the year after Christ 46; and there it will meet with the beginning of the first cycle of Prosper; that is, the first of these 84 year cycles, which was used by the primitive Christians for the finding out and settling the time of their Easter. The second of these cycles, according to the same Prosper began A. D. 130; the third, anno 214; the fourth, anno 298; the fifth, anno 382, (which was the last of these cycles mentioned by Prosper;) the sixth, anno 466; the seventh, anno 550; the eight, anno 634; the ninth, anno 718; and the tenth, anno 802; and about that time the use of it wholly ceased.

In the first age of the church, Christians generally followed the Jews in the settling the time of their Easter, some beginning their observance of it [5] at the same time the Jews did their passover, that is, on the 14th day of their first vernal moon, or month called Nisan, on what day of the week soever it happened to fall, but others not till the Sunday after. Those who were for the first way, alleged, that they followed therein St. John and St. Philip the apostles; and those who followed the other way urged for it the practice of St. Peter and St. Paul; who, they said, always began this festival, not on the 14th day of the first vernal moon, as the Jews did their passover, but on the Sunday after. And as long as those who came out of the circumcision into the church of Christ, and observed the law of Moses with that of the gospel, held communion with the church, this made no difference in it. But when they separated from it, then the church began to think it time to separate from them in this usage; and, after several meetings and councils held about it, they came to this resolution, that Easter should always be kept, not on the 14th day of the moon, as the Jews did their passover, but every where on the Sunday after: and all conformed hereto except the Asian churches; who, pretending for the other usage the example of St. John and St. Philip the apostles, and the holy martyr St. Polycarp, would not recede from it. Whereon Victor, bishop of Rome, sent out a libel of excommunication against them for it. So early did the tyranny of that see begin: for this happened in the year of our Lord 197. But

[5] Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 5. c. 22—24.

Irenæus, and most other Christians of that time condemned this as a very rash and unjustifiable act in Victor. However the controversy still went on, and the Christians of the Asian way being thenceforth called *Quartodecimani*, for their observing of the festival at the same time with the Jews *quarta decima luna*, *i. e.* on the 14th day of the moon, persisted in their former practice, till at length, in the Nicene council, A. D. 325, they all gave up into the other way, and an end was put to this controversy. And from that time the first day of the week in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ thereon, hath been among all Christians every where the first day of their Easter solemnity. But, in the interim, both parties still made use of the 84 years cycle, till that also was put under another regulation by the same council of Nice. In the year of Christ 222, this 84 years cycle being found faulty, [h] Hippolitus, bishop of Pontus in Arabia, invented a new one, by joining two Octoeteris' together; but, this soon appearing more faulty than the other, [i] Anatolius bishop of Laodicea in Syria, did, in the year 276, propose another way. All that was commendable in it was, that he first introduced the use of the 19 years cycle for this purpose; but he applied it so wrong, that it was in his method by no means useful to the end intended. In the year 325 sat the Nicene council, wherein as to Easter [k] these following particulars were agreed: 1*st*, That Easter should every where be begun to be observed on the first day of the week, that is, Sunday. 2*dly*, That it should be on the Sunday that should follow next, immediately after the 14th of the moon that should happen next after the vernal equinox, (which was then on the 21st of March.) And, 3*dly*, That it should be referred to the bishop of Alexandria, to calculate every year, on what day, according to these rules, the festival should begin.

The Alexandrians being then of all others most skilful in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation [l] was referred to the bishop of that place. And they having applied the 19 years cycle in a much better method to this purpose than Anatolius had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter; and

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[h] Anatolius in Prologo ad Canon. Paschalem. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 22. Isodorus Originum, lib. 6. c. 17.

[i] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 32.

[k] Socrates Schol. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 9.

[l] Leo Magnus Papa in Epistola 94.

[m] accordingly went by it for the discharge of what was referred to them by the council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the bishop of that church to write of it to the bishop of Rome; who having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his deacons to be published in his patriarchal church on the day of Epiphany preceding the festival, and then, by paschal epistles, notified it to all metropolitans, through the whole Christian world; and they, by like epistles, to their suffragans: and by this means the day was every where known, and every where observed, in an exact uniformity of time by Christians all the world over. But the pride of the see of Rome not bearing long their being directed in any thing from abroad, after some years observance of this order, they returned again to their old cycle of 84 years; and the use of it was thereon again resumed all over the western church. But this again making the same fault as formerly, by reason of the one day, six hours, 51 minutes, by which the 84 lunar years in this cycle, with its intercalated months, did over-run the solar years in it, Victorius, a presbyter of Limoges in Aquitain, [n] was employed by Hilarius (who was first archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of Rome) to make a new cycle; who, following the Alexandrians, first introduced into the western church the rule of fixing the time of Easter by the 19 years cycle, called the cycle of the moon; and, having multiplied it by the 28 years cycle of the dominical letters, called the cycle of the sun, hereby made the period of 532 years, called from him the Victorian period; after the expiration of which, he reckoned, that the same new moons, the same full moons, and the same dominical letters, and the same times of Easter, would all come over again in the same order of time, as in the former cycle, and so in all the following cycles for ever. And accordingly they would have done so, had the same new moons and full moons come over again at the same point of time in every cycle of the moon with the same exactness as every dominical letter did again in every cycle of the sun. But the 19 lunar years, and seven intercalated lunar months,

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[m] Ambrosius in Epistola ad Episcopos Æmilianos.

[n] Synodus Aurelionensis 4. can. 1. Gennadius de Viris Illustribus, c. 88. Sigebertus Gemblacensis de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, c. 20. Isodorus Orig. lib. 6. c. 17.

of which this cycle consisted, [o] falling short of 19 Julian years by one hour 27 minutes, and 40 seconds; hence it hath followed, that in every one of the years of these 19 years cycles, the new moons and full moons have happened just so much sooner each month than in the same years of the cycle immediately preceding. And hereby it hath come to pass, that after the elapsing of so many rounds of that cycle as have revolved from the time of the Nicene council, to the present year 1716, the new moons and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new moons and full moons in the kalendar of our Common Prayer-book four days, 10 hours, and an half; because the new moons and full moons are there stated not according to the present times, but according to the times of that council. However, a better cycle for this purpose, than the 19 years cycle, not being to be found, because none other can bring the course of the sun and moon to a nearer agreement, the Alexandrians for this reason pitched on it for the fixing of their Easter as the best rule they could follow for it. And [p] Theophilus and [q] Cyrillus, who were both patriarchs of Alexandria, and made each of them periods for the determining the times of this festival, the first of 100 years, and the other of 95 years, founded all their calculations hereon. And [r] Victorius, when he undertook to form a like period for this end, for the use of the western Christians, as the other had done for the use of the eastern, built it all upon the same foundation. For, fixing all the first vernal 14 moons (which were the paschal terms) according to the cycle of the moon, and the next Sunday after, in every year (which was the day when the festival began,) according to the cycle of the sun, he compounded out of both these cycles, by multi-

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[o] For, whereas 19 Julian years contain 6939 days, and 18 hours; 19 lunar years with their seven intercalated months contain only 6939 days, 16 hours, 32 minutes, and 20 seconds.

[p] Bedæ. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 22. Videas etiam Buchervum de Doctrina Temporum, Petavium, aliosque chronologos.

[q] Bedæ, ibid. Bucherius Petavius aliique. Cyrillus was nephew to Theophilus, and succeeded him in the see of Alexandria. He abolished his uncle's cycle, and substituted his of 95 years in its stead, which was truly a cycle, for it consisted of five Metonics; but the other was rather a table, in which Easter was calculated for 100 years, than a cycle.

[r] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 22. Bucher. in Canon Paschal. Victorii.

plying them into each other, his period of 532 years, beginning it from the 28th year of our Lord, according to the vulgar æra; and herein, according to both these cycles, he fixed the times of Easter in every year throughout that whole period, and so in all succeeding periods, on the same days over again in each of them for ever. This, after several years labour in it, he finished and published in the year of our Lord 457; which Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, [s] having, in the year of our Lord 527, corrected in some particulars, and fixed the equinox and new moons at the same points of time, in which they were at the holding of the council of Nice, the whole western church went hereby for many ages, till Gregory XIII. bishop of Rome, in the year 1582, reduced it by his corrections to that form in which it is now used under the name of the *New Stile*, in foreign countries. And it is to be wished that this church would reform all things else that are amiss among them, as well as they have done this. However we in England, and all the dominions belonging thereto, still retain the old form. And as we are the last to recede from this form, so were we anciently the last to receive it. For, although Dionysius published his form in the year of our Lord 527, it was not till the year 800 that it was universally received by all the churches of Britain and Ireland; and great controversies were in the interim raised among them about it, the occasion of which was as followeth.

Till the Saxons came into this island (which was A. D. 449.) the British churches having always communicated with the Roman, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the Roman empire, they agreed with it in the use of the same rule, for the fixing of the time of their Easter. And the Irish, who had not long before been converted by [t] St. Patrick, who was sent to them from Rome, followed the same usage. But afterward, when the Saxons, having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island, had thereby cut off all com-

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[s] Videas de hac re duas ejus epistolas in fine operis Bucherii de Doctrina Temporum.

[t] St. Patrick was sent by Cælestin, bishop of Rome, to convert the Irish, A. D. 432. He was then 60 years old, when he first undertook the work of this apostleship, and continued in it 60 years after, and with such success, that he converted the whole island, and died at the age of 120.

munication with Rome, all that correspondence, which till then the British and Irish churches had held with the Roman, thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of Austin the monk, to convert the English Saxons, which was [u] about 150 years after. And therefore, neither the British nor the Irish knowing any thing of the reformation, that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning Easter, either by Victorius or Dionysius, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the 84 years cycle, which they had received from the Romans, before the Saxons came into this land. And in this usage Austin found them on his arrival hither. And they having been long accustomed to it, could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the Romanists, which Austin [x] then proposed to them. And hence arose that controversy about Easter, which from that time was between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland, and the new Christians which were here converted by the Romanists, and lasted full 200 years, before it was fully suppressed. The difference between them about this matter was in two particulars. For, 1*st*, Whereas the Romanists, according to the rule of Dionysius, fixed the time of Easter by the 19 years cycle of the moon, and the 28 years cycle of the sun, the first shewing them the paschal term, and the other, what day was the next Sunday after, the [y] Britains and Irish, adhered to the use of the old cycle, that of 84 years for this matter. And, 2*dly*, Whereas the Romanists observed the beginning of the festival, from the 15th day of the first vernal moon, to the 21st inclusive, according as the Sunday happened within the compass of those days, the Britains and the Irish observed it from the 14th to the 20th; that is, the Romanists laying it down for a principle in this case never to begin the paschal festival at the same time with the Jews, for the avoiding of it, would never begin the solemnity on the 14th day of that moon, though it happened to be on a Sunday, but referred it to the next Sunday after, though in this case that Sunday did not happen till the 21st day of the said moon. But the Britains and Irish, if that 14th day happened to be on a Sunday, did then begin the festival without making any such scruple, as the Romanists did in this case, and so proceeded

[u] Austin first landed in Kent, A. D. 597.
[x] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 2.
[y] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 2. & c. 4.

to observe it in the following years on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, according as the next Sunday after fell on any of those days of that moon. But the Romanists not beginning the festival on any Sunday till the 15th of the said moon, observed it the following years, on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st of the moon, according as the next Sunday fell on any of them in any of the said years. So that, as the former never carried the beginning of this festival beyond the 20th day of the first vernal moon, so the latter never commenced it till the 15th day of the same. And they were so zealously set this way, that they would not hold communion with those of the British and Irish churches, that did otherwise, but, looking on them as heretics, called them by way of reproach *quarto-decimans*, whereas the ancient *quarto-decimans* were only those who begun the festival on the 14th day of the moon, at the same time with the Jews, on what day of the week soever it happened. But the Britains and the Irish never began it on that day, but when it happened to be a Sunday.

On the receding of Paulinus from the archbishopric of York, after the death of Edwin king of the English Saxons beyond the Humber, (which happened in [z] the year of our Lord 633,) the churches of those parts having had their bishops from the monastery of St. Columbus in the island of Hy, (which was then the chief university of the Irish for the educating and breeding up of their divines,) and [a] Aidan, [b] Finan, and [c] Colman, who had been all three monks of that monastery, having, in succession to each other, governed those churches 30 years, they during that time had introduced into them the Irish usage for the observing of Easter; whereby the controversy being brought among the English Christians, and a schism made among them about it, for [d] the putting of an end to it, a council was called to meet at the monastery of the Abbess Hilda, at Whitby in Yorkshire, then called Streonshale. And there a long disputation being had before Oswey king of the [e] Northumbrians, (who presided in that council,)

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[z] Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 10. [b] Bedæ Hist. lib. 3. c. 17, 52.
[a] Bedæ Hist. lib. 3. c. 3. [c] Bedæ Hist. lib. 3. c. 25, 26.
[d] Ibid. lib. 3. c. 25. Heddius in Vita Wilfridi, c. 10.
[e] All were then called Northumbrians that lived north of the river Humber, from that river to Graham's Dyke, which did run from Dunbritton frith to the Forth. For all this country was the ancient kingdom of the Northumbrians, and was divided into

and Alfred his son, and the main stress of the arguments on both sides turning upon this, that the Irish and Britains urged the authority of St. John for their usage, and the Romanists that of St. Peter for theirs, which they said was preferable to the other, because he was the prince of the apostles, and had the keys of heaven committed to his keeping, Oswey asked those who disputed on the side of the Irish and Britains, whether they agreed, that the usage of the Romanists had been the usage of St. Peter? and, on their agreeing hereto, he asked them again, whether they held that St. Peter had the keeping of the keys of heaven? and they having answered to this also in the affirmative, he hereon declared, that he would then be for St. Peter's way, lest, when he should come to heaven's gates, St. Peter should shut them against him, and keep him out. Wheron this ridiculous controversy receiving as ridiculous a decision, all the Christians of those parts came over to the Roman way; and Colman, [f] being much displeased with this deciding, or rather ridiculing of the controversy, returned, with as many of his Irish clergy as were of his mind, again to the monastery of Hy, from whence they came, and the Northumbrians had another bishop appointed over them in his stead. This happened in the year of our Lord 664.

After this the old way began to wear off both in Britain and Ireland, though but by slow degrees. [g] Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, being sent on an embassy from [h] the British

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two parts, Deiria and Bernicia; the former extended from the Humber to the Tyne, and the other from the Tyne to Graham's Dyke.

[f] Bedæ Hist, lib. 3. c. 26. [g] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 16.

[h] *Scotia* in this age was only Ireland, and the *Scoti* none other than the Irish: for Ireland only was the ancient *Scotia*, and the Irish the ancient Scots. But about the year of our Lord 500, a colony of the Irish having, under the leading of Fergus the son of Erc, settled in that part of North Britain now called Argyleshire, first brought with them the name of Scots into that country, and there began the kingdom of the British Scots, from whom this embassy came. But afterwards, having, in process of time, conquered both the north and the south Picts, and also received from the Saxon kings of England, all the Lowlands from Graham's Dyke to the river Tweed, (which formerly belonged to those princes,) they thenceforth gave the name of Scotland to that country; and Ireland, the ancient *Scotia*, assumed the name which it now bears. This was done about the year of our Lord

Scots (that is, the Irish who had settled in North Britain) to Alfred king of the Northumbrians; and having, while he continued on that occasion in those parts, made a visit to the united monasteries of Jarrow and Wermouth near Durham, was there, by Cealfrid, then abbot of them, so thoroughly convinced of the reasonableness of the Roman way before the other, that, on his return to Hy, he endeavoured to bring all there to conform to it; but, not being able to prevail with them herein, he went into Ireland, and there brought over almost all the northern parts of that island to this way. This happened about the year of our Lord 703. And he had the easier success herein, for that the [i] southern parts of that island had some years before conformed hereto, being induced to it by an epistle from Honorius bishop of Rome, written to them about it in the year 629. In the year 710, the same Cealfrid, above mentioned, [k] having written to Naitan, king of the Picts, an epistle for this way, thereby brought him and all his nation with him into a conformity to it. This epistle is very learnedly and judiciously written, and no doubt was penned by Bede, who was then a monk under him, in these two united monasteries. It is still extant in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and gives us the best view of this controversy of any thing now remaining that hath been written about it. In the year 716, [l] Egbert, a pious and learned presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years in his studies in Ireland, (which was in that age the prime seat of learning in all Christendom) coming from thence to the monastery of Hy, purposed to them anew the Roman way; and, having better success herein than Adamnanus their late abbot had in that attempt which he had before made upon them for this purpose, brought them all over to it. And after this none but the Welsh persisted in the old form; who, out of the inveterate hatred they had against all the English nation, were hard to be brought to conform to them in any thing. However at length, about the year 800, the errors of the old way by that time growing very conspicuous, by reason of the many

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1000. For Archbishop Usher tells us, who fully examined the matter, that there is not any one writer, who lived within 1000 years after Christ, that mentions the name of Scotland, and means any other than Ireland by it. *Vide* Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiq. c. 16. p. 383.

[i] Bedæ Hist. lib. 2. c. 19. & lib. 3. c. 3.

[k] Bedæ, lib. 5. c. 22. [l] Bedæ, lib. 5. c. 3.

days, which, according to the 84 years cycle, the lunar account must then have over-run the solar, the Welsh of North Wales, [m] were, by the persuasion of Elbodius their bishop, prevailed with to give an ear to those reasons which were alleged for the Roman form; and, being convinced by them that it was the better of the two, came into it. And, not long after, the Welsh of South Wales followed their example, and did the same; and thenceforth the cycle of 84 years, which had lasted for so many ages, became wholly abolished all Christendom over, and was never more brought into use.

There was indeed another controversy between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland, and the new ones of the Roman conversion, which was all along at the same time brought upon the stage with that about Easter, during the whole contest; that is, [n] that of the Clerical Tonsure, which was always debated with it, and was every where ended at the same time when the other was. But, my purpose being to treat only of what related to the Jewish affairs, I have only meddled with this contest, thereby to give the history of the Jewish cycle of 84 years; and thus far it is within my theme; but it being out of it to treat of the other, for this reason I do not here trouble the reader with it.

On the abolition of the 84 years cycle, the paschal rule of Dionysius became the rule of the whole western church for several ages after; and, it being still the rule of Great Britain and Ireland, and all the dominions belonging to them, it will be useful for the English reader to know the particulars of it. They are as followeth: 1. That Easter is a festival annually observed in commemoration of Christ's resurrection. 2. That Sunday being the day on which it is weekly commemorated, that day of the week is the fittest always to be the day on which the annual commemoration of it is to be solemnized. 3. That therefore this festival be always on a Sunday. 4. That it be on the Sunday next, after the Jewish passover. 5. That the Jewish passover being always slain on the 14th day of the first vernal moon, by them called Nisan, the Christian Easter is always to be on the next Sunday after the said 14th day of that moon. 6. That, to avoid all conformity with the Jews in this matter, though the 14th day of the said moon be on a Sunday, this festival is not to be kept on that Sunday, but on

[m] Humphredi Lhuid Fragmenta Britannica. Winn's History of Wales, p. 18.

[n] Bedæ Hist. lib. 3. c. 25. & lib. 5. c. 22.

the next Sunday after. 7. That the first vernal moon is that whose 14th day (commonly called the 14th moon) is either upon the day of the vernal equinox, or else is the next 14th moon after it. 8. That the vernal equinox, according to the council of Nice (to the times of which this rule is calculated,) is fixed to the 21st day of March. 9. That therefore the first vernal moon, according to this rule, is, that, whose 14th day falls upon the 21st of March, or else is the 14th moon after. 10. That this 14th day of the first vernal moon being the limit or boundary which bars and keeps Easter always beyond it, so that it can never happen before or upon that day, but always after it; for this reason it is called the paschal term. 11. That the next Sunday after the paschal term is always Easter day. 12. That therefore the earliest paschal term being the 21st of March, the 22d of March is the earliest Easter possible; and the 18th of April being the latest paschal term that can happen, the seventh day after, that is, the 25th of April, is the latest Easter possible; all other Easters are sooner or later, as the paschal terms and the next Sundays after them fall sooner or later, within the said limits. 13. That the earliest paschal term, or 14th day of the said first vernal moon, being, according to this rule, on the 21st of March, the 14th day before, that is, the eighth of March, must be the earliest first day of this moon that can happen; and the latest paschal term being the 18th of April, the 14th day before that, that is, the fifth of April, is the latest first day of this moon that can happen. All other first days of this moon fall sooner or later between the said eight day of March, and the fifth of April following. 14. That the cycle of the moon, which points to us the golden number, always shews us, which is the first day of the paschal moon, and consequently which is the 14th day of the same; and the cycle of the sun, which points to us the dominical letter, always shews us, which is the next Sunday after. And therefore, when you know what is the golden number, and what is the dominical letter of the year, the following scheme will fully serve to tell you when Easter will fall, according to this rule, in any year for ever.

1	2	3	4	5. *March*
3	1		D	*Kalandaæ*
	2		E	VI
11	3		F	V
	4		G	IV
19	5		A	III
8	6		B	*Prid. Non.*
	7		C	*Nonæ*
16	8		D	VIII
5	9		E	VII
	10		F	VI
13	11		G	V
2	12		A	IV.
	13		B	III
10	14		C	*Prid. Id.*
	15		D	*Idus*
18	16		E	XVII
7	17		F	XVI
	18		G	XV
15	19		A	XIV
4	20		B	XIII
	21	16	C	XII Nicen Equinox
12	22	5	D	XI First Easter possible
1	23		E	X
	24	13	F	IX
9	25	2	G	VIII
	26		A	VII
17	27	10	B	VI
6	28		C	V
	29	18	D	IV
14	30	7	E	III
3	31		F	*Prid. Kalend.*

1	2	3	4	5. *April.*
	1	15	G	*Kalendæ*
11	2	4	A	IV
	3		B	III
19	4	12	C	*Prid. Non.*
8	5	1	D	*Nonæ*
16	6		E	VIII
5	7	9	F	VII
	8		G	VI
13	9	17	A	V
2	10	6	B	IV
	11		C	III
10	12	14	D	*Prid. Id.*
	13	3	E	*Idus*
18	14		F	XVIII
7	15	11	G	XVII
	16		A	XVI
15	17	19	B	XV
4	18	8	C	XIV
	19		D	XIII
12	20		E	XII
1	21		F	XI
	22		G	X
9	23		A	IX
	24		B	VIII
17	25		C	VII Last East. possible
6	26		D	VI
	27		E	V
14	28		F	IV
3	29		G	III
	30		A	*Prid. Kalend.*

In this scheme, the first column contains the numbers that in the kalendar of our Common Prayer-book are called the primes, which are the golden numbers that point out to us the new moons. The second column gives the days of the month. The third contains the golden numbers, which point out to us the paschal terms, or the 14th day of the first vernal moon, (*i. e.* the day on which the Jews slew their passover.) The fourth column gives the dominical letters. And the last, the old Roman kalendar. Every number of

the prime shews, that, in the year when that is the golden number, the new moon is according to the calculation of this form on the day of the month over against which it is placed. And every number in the third column shews, that in the year when that is the golden number, the paschal term is on the day of the month over against which it is placed. The dominical letters tell us, when is the first Sunday after the paschal term on which Easter begins. And the Roman kalendar shews us, on what day thereof each particular above mentioned happens.

And therefore, observing these particulars, when you would find out in any year on what day Easter falls in it, run down your eye in the first column from the 8th of March (which is the earliest first day that can happen of the first vernal moon,) till you come to that number in it which is the golden number of the year, and that number tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the first of that moon. And then running down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same golden number in that column, that number tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed, is the paschal term, that is, the 14th day of that moon (as by numbering from that which is the same golden number in the first column you will find.) And then running down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters, till you come to the dominical letter of the year, that letter tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the next Sunday after the said paschal term, and that Sunday is the Easter of the year. As, for example, if you would know on what day Easter falls in this present year, 1716, run down your eye in the first column, till you come to the number 7, (which is the golden number of that year;) which being placed over against the 17th of March, it tells you thereby, that this 17th of March is the first day of the first vernal moon of this year. And from thence run down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same number of 7 in that column, which being placed over against the 30th of March, it tells you thereby, that this is the 14th day of that moon (as you will find by numbering from the said 17th day, which was the first of this moon) or the paschal term of the year. And then run down your eye from thence in the fourth column, (which is the column of the dominical letters) till you come to the letter G (which is the dominical letter of the year,) which

being placed over against the first of April, it tells you thereby, that this day is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be solemnized this year. And so, in like manner, if you would know when Easter will fall in the year 1717, 8 being the golden number of the year, and placed in the column of the primes over against the 5th of April, it shews that to be the first day of the first vernal moon of that year. And the same manner in the third column, being placed over against the 18th of April, it shews that to be the paschal term of the year. And the letter F being the dominical letter of the year, and the next F after, in the fourth column, being placed over against the 21st of April, this shews that the 21st of April is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be observed in that year. And so, by the like method, may be found out, when Easter, according to this form, will fall in any year for ever: and hereby not only the rule, but also the reason of the thing, may be seen both together at the same time. And the same may be done by the kalendar in the Common Prayer-book, though the third column of this scheme be there wanting. For you having there found, by the method mentioned, the first day of the first vernal moon, number down from thence to the 14th day after, and there you have the paschal term; and the next Sunday after (which you will know by the dominical letter of the year) is Easter Sunday.

But it is to be observed, that the 21st of March is not the true equinox, but only that which was the true equinox at the time of the Nicene council (which was held A. D. 325;) since that time the true equinox hath anticipated the Nicene equinox 11 days. For the Julian solar year which we reckon by, exceeding the true tropical solar year 11 minutes, this excess in 130 years makes a day, and almost 11 times 130 years having happened since the time of that council to this present year 1716, the true equinox now falls 11 days before the Nicene equinox. And so, in like manner, it hath happened to the primes, that is, the golden numbers, or the numbers of the 19 years cycle of the moon, in the first column of the kalendar in our Common Prayer-book. For they are placed, there to shew, that the days of the month over against which they stand in that kalendar, are the new moons in those years in which they are the golden numbers, and they truly did so at the time of the council of Nice. But in every one of the 19 years cycles of the golden numbers,

called the cycles of the moon, the Julian solar reckoning exceeding the true lunar reckoning an hour and almost an half, this hour and an half in 304 years making a day, and four times 304 years and above half 304 years more, having now passed since that council, this hath caused that the true new moons now happen four days and an half before the new moons marked by the primes in the said kalendar of our Common Prayer-book. And therefore, if you would have the true equinox by that kalendar, you must deduct as many days from the 21st of March as there hath been the number of 130 years since the council of Nice, and that will bring you back to the true time of the equinox in this or any other year wherein it shall be sought for. And so, in like manner, if you would have the true time of the new moon by the same kalendar in every month, you must deduct as many days from the days of the month which the primes mark out for the new moons, as there are the number of 304 years in the number of years which are now, from the time of the said council, elapsed, that is, four days and an half; and this will lead you back to the true time of the new moon in any month of the year wherein you shall seek to know it. As for example, in this year 1716, the number 7 (which is the golden number of the year, as placed in the column of the primes in the month of June) points out to us the 13th day of the month for the new moon; deduct from it four days and an half, and that will carry you back to the 8th of June, which is the true new moon; and so likewise, in this method, you may know by the same kalendar on what day the new moon shall happen in any month or year for ever. And thus far the explication of the Jewish cycle of 84 years: and the account of that controversy about it, which was raised in this land among our English ancestors, hath led me, I fear, into too long a digression. To return, therefore, to our history.

Nicanor, having received orders from Demetrius again to renew the war against the Jews, as hath been above mentioned [o] came with his forces to Jerusalem, and there thought by craft and treachery to have gotten Judas into his power. For, having invited him to a conference, Judas, relying on the late peace, complied with him herein, and came to the place appointed: but, finding that an ambush was there laid treacherously to take him, he fled from his presence: and after this all confidence

Anno 161. Judas Maccabæus 6.

[o] 1 Maccab. vii. 27—32. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

was broken, and the war was again begun between them. The first action hereof was at Capharsalama; in which Nicanor having lost 5000 of his men, retreated with the rest to Jerusalem; where, being much enraged by reason of the defeat, [p] he first vented his wrath on Razis, an eminent and honourable senator of the Jewish senate called the sanhedrim. For, finding that he was much honoured and beloved by the Jews, not only by reason of his steady and constant perseverance in his religion through the worst of times, but also because of the good and kind offices which he was ready on all occasions to do his people, Nicanor thought it would be an act of great displeasure and despite to the Jews, to have him cut off; and therefore sent out a party of 500 men to take him, with intent to put him to death. But Razis, being at a castle of his which he had in the country, there defended himself against them for some time with great valour: but at length, finding he could hold out no longer, he fell upon his own sword; but, the wound not killing him, he cast himself headlong over the battlements of the turret whereon he fought; and, finding himself alive after that also, he thrust his hand into his wound, and, pulling out his bowels, cast them upon the assailants, and so died. The Jews for this reckoned him a martyr; but [q] St. Austin, in his epistle to Dulcitius, condemns the fact as self-murder, and there gives reasons for it that cannot be answered.

After this, Nicanor [r] went up into the mountain of the temple, and there demanded that Judas and his host should be delivered to him, threatening that, unless this were done, he would, on his return, pull down the altar, and burn the temple, and, instead of it, build a temple to Bacchus in the same place; and at the same time spoke many other blasphemous words, both against the temple and the God of Israel that was worshipped in it; which sent all that wished well to Zion to their prayers against him, and they were heard with thorough effect. For, immediately after, [s] Nicanor, marching out with his forces against Judas, and coming to a battle with him, was slain in the first onset; whereon

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[p] 2 Maccab. xiv. 37—46.

[q] Epist. 61. Vide etiam eundem in libro secundo contra Gaudentium.

[r] 1 Maccab. vii. 33—38. 2 Maccab. xiv. 31—36. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 17.

[s] 1 Maccab. vii. 34—50. 2 Maccab. xv. 1—36. Josephus, ib.

the whole army cast away their arms and fled; and all the country rising upon them as they endeavoured to escape, cut them all off to a man, there not being of his whole army, which consisted of 35,000 men, as much as one left to carry the news of this defeat to Antioch. Judas and his forces, returning from the pursuit again to the field of battle, took the spoils of the slain, and, having found the body of Nicanor, they cut off his head, and also his right hand, which he had stretched out so proudly in his threatenings against the temple, and hanged them up upon one of the towers of Jerusalem. This victory was obtained on the 13th of the Jewish month Adar; and, it being a day of great deliverance to Israel, they rejoiced greatly in it, and ordained, that it should ever after be observed as an anniversary day of thanksgiving in commemoration of this mercy; and they so keep it even to this present time, by the name of the day of Nicanor. And here endeth the history of the second book of the Maccabees.

Judas, having some respite after this victory, [t] sent an embassy to the Romans; for having heard of their power, prowess, and policy, he was desirous of making a league with them, hoping thereby to receive some protection and relief against the oppression of the Syrians: and therefore, for this end, he made choice of Jason, the son of Eleazar, and Eupolemus, the son of that John, [u] who, in a like embassy to Seleucus Philopater, obtained from him a grant of all those privileges for the Jews which Antiochus Epiphanes would have afterwards abolished, and sent them to Rome, where they were kindly received by the senate, and a decree was made, that the Jews should be acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans, and a league of mutual defence be thenceforth established between them. And a letter was written from them to Demetrius, [x] requiring him to desist from any

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[t] 1 Maccab. viii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 17.

[u] 2 Maccab. iv. 11.

[x] 1 Maccab. viii. 41, 42. Justin. lib. 36. c. 3. The words of Justin in this place are. 'A Demetrio cum defecissent Judæi, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus;' *i. e.* 'The Jews, when they revolted from Demetrius, having sought the friendship of the Romans, were the first of the nations of the East that regained their liberty, the Romans at that time easily giving to others of that which was not their own.'

more vexing the Jews, and threatening him with war if he should not comply herewith. But, before this letter was delivered, or the ambassadors returned with the decree of the senate to Jerusalem, Judas was dead.

For Demetrius, having received an account of the defeat and death of Nicanor, [y] sent Bacchides, with Alcimus, the second time into Judea, at the head of a very potent army, made up of the prime forces and flower of his militia. Judas, on the coming of this army into Judea, had no more than 3000 men with him to oppose them; who, being terrified with the strength and number of the enemy, deserted their general, all to 800 men: yet with these few Judas, out of an over excess of valour and confidence, dared engage the numerous army of the adversary; but, being overborne by their numbers, was slain in the conflict; for which all Judah and Jerusalem made great lamentation; and Jonathan and Simon his brothers, taking up his dead body, buried him honourably at Modin, in the sepulchre of his forefathers.

The apostates, and others who were ill affected to the true interest and peace of their country, [z] took the advantage of this loss to lift up their heads again, and act according to their evil inclinations in all parts of the land, and hereby created great disturbances in it. And, moreover, a very grievous famine happened at the same time, and the prevailing faction having gotten most of the provisions of the land into their power, this caused great revoltings among the people, that so thereby they might come at bread. And by this means Alcimus and his party greatly increasing in strength, got the whole land into their power; and thereon the government being in all places put into the hands of wicked men, great inquisition and search was made for the friends and adherents of the Maccabæans; and such of them as could be taken, being brought to Bacchides, were put to death with all manner of cruelty and indignity: by reason whereof there was sore affliction and great distress in Israel, such as had not been from the days of the prophets that returned from the Babylonish captivity to that time, not excepting even the persecuting times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Whereon, [a] for the remedy of this great evil and misery, all that wished well

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[y] 1 Maccab. ix. 1—22. Joseph. lib. 12. c. 19.
[z] 1 Maccab. ix. 23—27. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 1.
[a] 1 Maccab. ix. 28—33. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 1.

to Zion flocked to Jonathan, and made him their captain: and he thereon taking the government upon him, rose up in the place of Judas his brother, and got forces together to resist the enemy: which Bacchides hearing of, endeavoured to have gotten him into his power, that he might put him to death: whereon Jonathan, and Simon his brother, with those that were with him, fled into the wilderness of Tekoa, and there encamped near the river of Jordan, where being surrounded with a morass on the one side, and the river on the other, they could not be easily come at. But, that they might the better secure their goods and baggage from all the events of war, [b] they sent all their carriages, under the conduct of John, the brother of Jonathan and Simon, to their friends the Nabatheans, to be deposited with them, till they should be in a better condition again to receive them. But, while John was on his way thither, the Jambrians, a tribe of the Arabs then living at Medaba, formerly a city of the Moabites, issued out from thence upon him, and, having slain him, and those that were with him, took all that they had, and carried it away for a prey.

Not long after, [c] Jonathan and Simon, understanding that a great marriage was to be solemnized at Medaba between one of the chief men of the Jambrians and a daughter of one of the prime nobles of Canaan, and, having gotten notice of the day, when the bride was to be conducted home to her bridegroom, way-laid them in the mountains; from whence having a full sight of the bride's being carried on with great pomp and attendance, and the bridegroom's marching out with like pomp to meet and receive her, as soon as they perceived both companies were joined together, they rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and slew them all, excepting only some few that escaped by flying to the mountains, and took all their spoils, and, having thus revenged the death of their brother, returned again to their former camp. Of which Bacchides [d] having received intelligence, marched thither against them, and, having made himself master of the pass that led to their encampment, assaulted them in it on the sabbath day, expecting then to find no resistance from them, because of the religious veneration which, he understood, they had for that day. But Jonathan,

[b] 1 Maccab. ix. 35—38. Joseph. ibid.
[c] 1 Maccab. ix. 37—41. Joseph. ibid.
[d] 1 Maccab. ix. 43—53. Joseph. lib. 13. c. 1.

reminding his people of the determination that was made in this case in the time of Mattathias his father, exhorted them valiantly to resist the enemy, when thus pressed to it by necessity, notwithstanding it was the sabbath day; and all accordingly complied herewith, and, in defence of themselves, slew of the assailants about 1000 men; but, finding that they must at length be overpowered by their numbers, they cast themselves into the river Jordan, and swam over to the other side, and so escaped. For Bacchides, pursuing them no farther, returned again to Jerusalem, where having given order for the fortifying of several cities and strong holds throughout Judea, in places best convenient for it, he put strong garrisons in them, that he might thereby the better keep the country in subjection, and the easier suppress all those of the contrary party that should rise up against him. And especially he took care to well repair and fortify the fortress of Mount Acra in Jerusalem, and, having furnished it with men and provisions, he took of the children of the chief men of the country, and put them into it, ordering them there to be kept as hostages for the fidelity of their fathers and friends; and so ended the year.

In the next year after [e] died Alcimus, the great troubler of Israel. For, after having, by the power of Bacchides, fully established himself in the pontificate, he set himself to make several alterations for the corrupting of the then well settled state of the Jewish religion, in order to the bringing of it to a nearer agreement with the Heathen. And whereas, round the sanctuary, there was built, by the order of the later prophets Haggai and Zechariah, a low wall or inclosure, called the [f] *Chel*, to serve for the separating of the holy part of the mountain of the house from the unholy; and the rule was, that within this no uncircumcised person was ever to enter: Alcimus, in order to take away this distinction, and give the Gentile equal liberty with the Jews to pass into the inner courts of the temple, ordered this wall of partition to be pulled down. But, while it was a-doing, he was smitten by the hand of God with a palsy, and suddenly died of it.

Anno 160. Jonathan 1.

When [g] Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, for whose sake he came into Judea, he returned again to Antioch; and

[e] 1 Maccab. ix. 54—56.
[f] See Lightfoot of the temple, c. 17.
[g] 1 Maccab. ix. 57.

the land was quiet from all molestations of the Syrians for two years. It is most likely Demetrius had by this time received the letters that were sent to him from the Romans in behalf of the Jews, and thereupon gave Bacchides orders to surcease his vexations of that people; and that it was in obedience to those orders, that, on the death of Alcimus, he took that occasion to leave that country.

For [h] Demetrius, about this time labouring all he could to get the Romans to favour him, was now more than ordinary cautious not to give them any offence; and therefore was the more ready to comply with any thing they should desire. It hath been before related in what manner he fled from Rome, when he was an hostage there, and how, contrary to the mind of the senate, he seized Syria, and slew Antiochus Eupator, whom they had confirmed in that kingdom, and there reigned in his stead; for which reason they being much displeased with him, had not as yet saluted him king, nor renewed the league with him which they had made with his predecessors. This Demetrius was very solicitous to have done; and, in order thereto, was at this time making use of all methods to gain their favour: and therefore, hearing that the Romans had then three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his prime ministers, thither to treat with them about this matter; and, on his return, finding, by the report which he made of what passed in this treaty, that the good offices of these ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again to them, first into Pamphylia, and after that again to Rhodes, promising every thing they should desire, and never leaving soliciting and pressing them, till at length, by their interposition, all was granted him that he solicited for; and the Romans acknowledged him for king of Syria, and renewed the leagues of his predecessors with him.

Whereon, the next year after, [i] he sent the same Menochares, with others, in a solemn embassy to Rome, for the further cultivating of their friendship with him. They carried thither a crown of gold, of the value of 10,000 gold pieces of money, for a present to the senate, in acknowledgment of the kind and free entertainment he had received from them, while he was an hostage

Anno 159. Jonathan 2.

[h] Polyb. legat. 120. p. 952.

[i] Polyb. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. Appian. in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. legat. 25.

at Rome with them. And they also brought with them Leptines and Isocrates to be delivered into their hands, for the death of Octavius. I have above related, how this Leptines slew Octavius, at Laodicea in Syria, while he was in that country, on an embassy from the Romans. Isocrates was a talkative Greek, and by profession a grammarian; he being then in Syria when this murder was committed, undertook, on all occasions, to speak in the justification of it; for which reason, being taken into custody, he grew distracted, and so continued ever after. But there was no occasion of seizing Leptines; he freely offered himself, to go to Rome, there to answer for the fact, and accordingly, without any constraint, accompanied the ambassadors thither; and although he constantly owned the fact: yet, at the same time, he as confidently assured himself, he should suffer no hurt from the Romans for it: and so it accordingly happened. As to the ambassadors, the senate received them with due respects, and kindly accepted of the present they brought, but would not meddle with the persons. The taking vengeance of these two men, they thought, was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador; and therefore they kept that matter still upon the same foot, reserving to themselves the further inquiry into it, and the demand from the whole nation of the Syrians (on whom in general they charged the guilt) of such satisfaction, as, on a full and thorough cognizance of the cause, should be judged adequate to it.

About this time [k] Holophernes, the pretended elder brother of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, laying claim to that kingdom, came to Demetrius to solicit his help for the recovering of it. Ariarathes the father had to his wife Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. She [l] having lived some years without children, and therefore believing that she should never have any, to help the matter, feigned herself to be with child, and thereof pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards again of another by the same trick, she thus brought in two supposititious children to be heirs of the royal family; the first of which was called Ariarathes, and the other Holophernes. By which it appears, that the bringing in of false births for the inherit-

[k] Polyb. lib. 3. p. 161. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 35. c. 1. Epit. Livii, lib. 47.

[l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 31. apud Photium in Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 1160.

ing of crowns is not a new thing in the world. But after, the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered without fraud, first of one daughter, and next of another, and in the last place of a son, she confessed the whole deceit. Whereon, that the false sons might not be heirs, to the wrong of the true, they were sent away into foreign parts, the eldest of them to Rome, and the other, which was this Holophernes, into Ionia, with sums of money sufficient there to educate and maintain them. And the true son, at first called Mithridates, thenceforth taking his father's name, was declared his true heir; and accordingly, after his death, succeeded him in the kingdom. And this is that Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, of whom we now speak, and against whom Holophernes made the claim I have mentioned. Demetrius had not long before [m] offered him his sister Laodice in marriage; but, she having been widow to Perseus king of Macedon, an enemy to the Romans, and Demetrius himself not being yet in good grace with them, Ariarathes feared he might, by this match, give them offence; and therefore rejected the offer. This Demetrius resented; and, while he was under these resentments, Holophernes came to him: and therefore, having easily obtained his assistance, by the strength and power thereof, [n] he expelled Ariarathes, though assisted by Eumenes king of Pergamus, and reigned in his stead. But, [o] by his rapine, cruelty, and other mal-administrations, he soon made himself odius to all the people of his kingdom.

This assistance which Eumenes gave Ariarathes, was one of the last acts of his life; for [p] he died soon after, having

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[m] Justin. lib. 35. c. 11. Diodor. Sic. legat. 24.

[n] Justin. ibid. Polyb. lib. 3. p. 161. Livii. Epit. lib. 47. Appian. in Syriacis.

[o] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 335, 337. Polybius, as cited by Athenæus, (lib. 10. p. 440.) tells us, 'That Holophernes, king of Cappadocia, held his kingdom but a short time, because he neglected the laws of his country, and brought in the drunken sotts and the disorderly intemperance of the Bacchanals.

[p] Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. He here saith, that Eumenes reigned forty-nine years; but this is a manifest error in the copy from whence the book was printed. For, reckoning the years which are said in the Roman history, to have elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Eumenes to the end of the Pergamenian kingdom, and deducting from them the years which Attalus his brother,

reigned at Pergamus 38 years. By his will, he bequeathed his kingdom [q] to Attalus his brother, who accordingly succeeded him in it. [q] He had a son by Stratonice his queen, sister to Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia last mentioned; but he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was then incapable of administering the government; and therefore Eumenes rather chose to put Attalus into the present possession of the crown, reserving to his son the next succession after him. And Attalus deceived not his expectation herein; for, after his brother's death, he married his wife, and took care of his son, and left him his kingdom at his death, after he had reigned in it 20 years, preferring him herein to his own sons, for the sake of that trust which his brother had reposed in him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Jonathan having had two years quiet, and thereby brought his affairs to some settlement in Judea, [r] the adverse faction, being hereby excited with envy against him, sent to the Syrian court at Antioch, and there procured that Bacchides was again ordered into that land with a great army. The authors of this mischief proposed to seize Jonathan, and all those of his party, in one and the same night, throughout the land, as soon as the army should arrive to back them in the enterprise; and all things were accordingly laid in order to it. And therefore Bacchides, on his entering the borders of Judea, sent them letters to appoint the time for the executing of the plot in the manner as had been concerted between them. But, the design being discovered, Jonathan got his forces together, [s] seized 50 of the conspirators, and, having put them to death, thereby quelled all the rest; and so the whole mischief that was intended against him, was totally quashed and defeated. But,

Anno 158. Jonathan 3.

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and after him Attalus his son, (in whose death that kingdom ceased) reigned according to Strabo, in Pergamus after him, there will remain only 39 years for the reign of Eumenes; in the beginning of the last of which he died, having reigned full 38 years, and entered only on the beginning of the 39th.

[q] Strabo, ibid. Plutarch. in libro περὶ Φιλαδελφίας.

[r] 1 Maccab. ix. 58—61. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c.

[s] Josephus relates the matter, as if Bacchides had put those men to death out of anger for the disappointment; but, according to the first book of Maccabees, it can be understood no otherwise than as I have here related it.

not being strong enough to stand against so great a force as Bacchides brought against him, [t] he retired to Bethbasi, a place strongly situated in the wilderness, and, having well repaired its former fortifications, and furnished it with all things necessary, he there proposed to make defence against the enemy. Whereon Bacchides marched thither with all his army to besiege him, and called thither to him all the Jews that were in the Syrian interest to assist him herein. On his approach, Jonathan left Simon his brother with one part of his forces to defend the place, and he with the other part took the field to harass the adversary abroad; and accordingly he did cut off several of their parties as they went out to forage, smote and destroyed others that adhered to them, and sometimes made impressions upon the out-skirts of those that lay at the siege, to the disturbing and disordering of the whole army. And at the same time Simon as valiantly did his part in Bethbasi, strenuously defending himself therein, making frequent sallies, and burning the engines of war provided against the place. By [u] which success of the two brothers Bacchides, being made weary of the war, grew very angry with those who had been the authors of bringing him into it; and, having put several of them to death, purposed to raise the siege, and depart the country; of which Jonathan having notice, took hold of the opportunity to send messages to him for an accommodation; which Bacchides gladly receiving, made peace with Jonathan and his party; and all prisoners being thereon restored on both sides, Bacchides swore that he would never more do any harm to the Jews, as long as he should live; which he accordingly made good: for, as soon as the peace was ratified and executed on both sides, he departed, and never afterwards came any more into that country. Whereon Jonathan settled in peace at Michmash, a town lying to the north of Jerusalem [x] at the distance of nine miles from it, and there governed Israel according to the law, cut off all that apostatized from it, and restored again justice and righteousness in the land, and reformed as far as he could, all that was amiss either in church or state.

Ariarathes being driven out of his kingdom of Cappadocia

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[t] 1 Macc. ix. 62—68. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 1.
[u] 1 Macc. ix. 69—73. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 1, & 2.
[x] Eusebius & Hieronymus.

Anno 157. Jonathan 4. by Demetrius and Holophernes, in the manner as hath been above related, [y] came to Rome for relief. And thither came also ambassadors from Demetrius and Holophernes, to justify what they had done against him. Who being able speakers, and making their appearance with great splendor and show of riches, as coming from princes in possession of their kingdoms, easily overbore, by the power of their oratory, and the power of their interest, a poor exiled prince who had no one else to speak for him, or any other interest to support him in his cause, save only the justness of it; and therefore they obtained the determination of the senate on their side against him. However, [z] seeing Ariarathes had been formerly declared, and often owned as a friend and ally of the Romans, they would not wholly dispossess him, but ordered him and Holophernes to reign together. But this partnership did not last long: for Holophernes having, by his many mal-administrations, utterly alienated the affections of the Cappadocians from him, they were all ready to declare against him for Ariarathes on the first occasion that should offer. Of which Attalus king of Pergamus being fully informed, [a] sent Ariarathes such assistance as enabled him to drive Holophernes out of the country, and again reinstate himself in the possession of the whole kingdom. Hereon Holophernes retreated to Antioch, carrying thither with him a treasure sufficient to support him. For, before this turn of his affairs, suspecting that which happened, [b] he got together a great sum of money, to the value of 400 talents of silver, and deposed it with the [c] Prienians, among whom he was bred, as a reserve for all events. This money, Ariarathes, after the recovery of his kingdom, demanded of the Prienians, as that which of right belonged to him, because raised out of the revenues of his crown. But the Prienians being of old famous for their justice, resolved to make good that character on this occasion; and therefore would not be induced by any solicitations or

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[y] Polyb. legat. 126. p. 958.

[z] Appian. in Syriacis. Zonoras ex Dione. Livii Epit. lib. 47.

[a] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 169. Zonoras ex Dione.

[b] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 171—173.

[c] Priene was a city of Ionia, situated on the north side of the river Meander, over against Myus. It was the city of Bias the philosopher, and, from the justice practised there in his time, *Justitia Prienensis* became a proverb. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 636.

threats to pay him the money; but, though they suffered much both from Attalus, as well as from Ariarathes, for the refusal, continued true to their trust, and restored the whole sum to Holophernes; and with this money he might have lived in plenty and ease at Antioch, could any thing less than reigning there have contented him.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Libya and Cyrene, having, by his ill and cruel management of the government, and his very wicked and vicious conduct, justly incurred the general dislike and odium of his subjects; it happened, [d] that some of them, lying in wait for him, fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, thinking to have slain him. This he charged upon King Philometor his brother; and, as soon as he was recovered, he went again to Rome with his complaint against him, shewing the senate the scars of his wounds, and accusing him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. And, although King Philometor was [e] a person of so great benignity and good nature, that of all men living he was the most unlikely ever to have given the least countenance to such a fact, yet the senate, by reason of the disgust which they had conceived against him for his not submitting to their decree about Cyprus, yielded so easy an ear to this false accusation, that, taking it all to be true, they would not as much as hear what the ambassadors of Philometor had to say on their side, for the refutation of this charge; but ordered them forthwith to be gone from Rome, and then sent five ambassadors to conduct Physcon to Cyprus, and put him in possession of that island, and wrote letters to their allies in those parts, to furnish him with forces for this purpose.

Anno 156. Jonathan 5.

By which means Physcon, having gotten together an army which he thought sufficient for the compassing of his design, landed with them on the island for the possessing of himself of it; but, being there

Anno 155. Jonathan 6.

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[d] Polyb. Legat. 132. p. 961.

[e] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 197. gives this character of him. 'That he was a prince of so much clemency and benignity, that he did never put to death any of his nobles, or as much as any one citizen of Alexandria during his reign.' And, although his brother had many times provoked him by offences, in the highest degree deserving of death, yet he always pardoned him, and treated him at no time otherwise than with the affection of a kind brother.

[f] encountered by Philometor, he was vanquished in battle, and forced into Lapitho, a city in that island; where being pursued, shut up, and besieged, he was at length taken prisoner in the place, and delivered into the hands of Philometor, who, out of his great clemency, dealt with him much better than he deserved. For though his demerits were such as might justly have provoked from him the utmost severities, yet he remitted all; and not only pardoned him, when his offences against him were such as every body else would have judged unpardonable, but also restored to him Libya and Cyrene, and added some other territories to them, to compensate for his detaining Cyprus from him; and hereby the war between the two brothers was wholly ended, and never after again revived; the Romans being ashamed, it seems, any more to oppose themselves against so generous a clemency: for there is no more mention from this time of their any further interposal in this matter.

Philometor, having thus finished the Cyprian war against his brother, left the command of that island, on his return to Alexandria, to Archias, one of the chief of his confidents. But he was deceived in the man: for he had not been long in this trust, [g] ere he agreed with Demetrius, king of Syria, for 500 talents to betray the island to him. But discovery being made hereof, he hanged himself, to avoid the punishment which that treachery deserved. He had formerly with great fidelity adhered to his master, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and accompanied [h] him to Rome, when he went thither for help in his distress. But though his fidelity was of proof in that case, it was not so in this other: for, being a greedy man, he could not hold out against money; and therefore sold himself for the sum I have mentioned, and perished in the bargain.

Demetrius, giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, lived at this time a very odd and slothful life. For, having [i] built him a castle near Antioch, and strongly fortified it with four towers, he there shut himself up, and, casting off all care of the public, devoted himself wholly to his ease and pleasure; the chief of which

Anno 154. Jonathan 7.

[f] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 197. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 334—337.

[g] Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 170.

[h] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 322.

[i] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 3.

last was drinking, which he indulged to that excess, that [k] he was usually drunk for the major part of every day that he there lived. Whereby it came to pass, that no petitions being admitted, no grievances redressed, nor any justice duly administered, the whole business of the government was at a stand; which justly giving disgust to his subjects, they entered into a conspiracy for the deposing of him. And Holophernes, then living at Antioch, [l] joined with them in it against his benefactor, hoping, on the success thereof, to ascend his throne, and there reign in his stead. Of which discovery being made, Holophernes was thereon clapped up in prison. For Demetrius thought fit not to put him to death, that he might still have him in reserve to let loose upon Ariarathes, as future occasions should require. However, notwithstanding this detection, the conspiracy still went on. For Ptolemy, being disgusted by Demetrius' late attempt upon Cyprus, and Attalus and Ariarathes being alike provoked by the wars which he had made upon them in behalf of Holophernes, they all three joined together for the encouragement of the conspirators against him, and employed Heraclides to suborn one to take on him the pretence of being son to Antiochus Epiphanes, and under that title to claim the crown of Syria. This Heraclides was, as [m] I have before related, a great favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his treasurer in the province of Babylon, while Timarchus his brother, another like favourite of that king's, was governor of it. But, on the coming of Demetrius to the crown, these two brothers being found guilty of great misdemeanours, Timarchus was put to death; but Heraclides, making his escape out of the kingdom, took up his residence at Rhodes; [n] where, being put on work to form this plot, and having accordingly found out, in that place, a youth of very mean and obscure condition, called Balas, that was every way fit for the purpose, he dressed him up, and thoroughly instructed him for the acting of his part in it.

And when he had thus exactly formed him for the impos-

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[k] Athenæus, lib. 10. p. 440. [l] Justin. lib. 35. c. 1.

[m] Part II. Book 3. under the year 175, and Book 4. under the year 162.

[n] That Balas was one of Rhodes, is said by Sulpitius Severus, lib. 2. c. 12. That he was an impostor, is said by all. Vide Livii epitomen, lib. 52. Appian. in Syriacis. Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 211. Polyb. legat. 140. p. 968. & Justin. lib. 35. c. 1.

Anno 153. Jonathan 8. ture, he first procured him to be owned by the three kings above mentioned, and then [o] carried him to Rome, taking along with him Laodice, who was truly the daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, thereby to give the better colour to the fraud; and, on his arrival thither, by his craft and sedulous solicitation, gained him to be owned there also; and [p] procured from the senate a decree in his behalf, not only to permit him to return into Syria, for the recovery of that kingdom, but likewise to have their assistance in order to it. For the senators, though they plainly enough discerned all to be fiction and imposture that was alleged on the behalf of Balas, yet, out of disgust to Demetrius, they struck in with it, and made this decree in favour of the impostor; by virtue whereof he raised forces, and with them sailing to Ptolemais in Palestine, [q] seized that city; and there, by the name of Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took upon him to be king of Syria; and great numbers, out of their disaffection to Demetrius, flocked thither to him.

This brought Demetrius out of his castle, to provide for his defence; in order whereto, [r] he got all the forces together that he could, and Alexander armed as fast on his part: and the assistance of Jonathan being like to carry great weight with it to that side he should declare for, both courted his friendship. And first, [s] a letter was wrote to him from Demetrius, constituting him the king's general in Judea, and authorising him to raise forces, and provide them with arms to come to his assistance; and commanding that the hostages, which were in the fortress at Jerusalem, should be delivered to him. Jonathan, on the receiving of this letter, went up to Jerusalem, and caused it there to be read in the hearing of those in the fortress, and then, by virtue of it, demanded the hostages; which they accordingly delivered to him. For, finding him invested with such authority from the king, they were afraid, and durst not withstand him in this matter. And therefore all the hostages which Bacchides had taken of the Jews, and shut up in that fortress for the securing of the fidelity of their fathers and friends to the Syrian interest, being restored to those from whom they were taken, and the restraint put upon them hereby again removed, great numbers

[o] Polyb. legat. 138. p. 966. [p] Polyb. legat. 140. p. 968.
[q] 1 Maccab. x. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 3.
[r] 1 Maccab. x. 2.
[s] 1 Maccab. x. 3—9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 4.

flocked to Jonathan, for the strengthening of him, whereby he grew to such power, that [t] those forces which Bacchides had placed in garrisons all over the country, finding themselves not strong enough to hold out against him, left their fortresses and fled away; only Bethsura and the fortress at Jerusalem still held out. For the garrison-soldiers, in both these two places, being most of them apostate Jews, they had no where else to fly to; and therefore, in this desperate case, had nothing else to depend upon, but by standing out to defend themselves to the utmost. Hereon Jonathan, settling at Jerusalem, began to repair the city, and new fortify it on every side, and caused the wall round the mountain of the temple, which had been pulled down by Antiochus Eupator, to be again rebuilt.

Alexander, hearing what Demetrius had done to gain Jonathan on his side, [u] sent also his proposals to him; whereby he granted to him that he should be high priest of the Jews, and be [x] called the king's friend; and he sent him a purple robe, [y] and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the great dignity which he thereby invested him with, (none but princes and nobles of the first rank being allowed in those days to be clothed in purple.) Of which Demetrius having received notice, [z] resolved to outbid Alexander, for the gaining of so valuable an ally; and therefore sent a second message to Jonathan, offering all that Alexander did, with the addition of many other extraordinary grants and privileges both to him and all his people, in case he would declare for him, and come to his assistance. But, it being remembered how bitter an enemy he had been to all that adhered to the true Jewish interest, and how much ruin and oppression he had brought upon that whole nation, they durst not confide in him; but looking upon all his offers to be only such as were extorted from him by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would all immediately contravene and revoke whenever his fortunes

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[t] 1 Maccab. x. 10—14. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 4.

[u] 1 Maccab. x. 15—20. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 5.

[x] Those that were the nobles under the Macedonian kings, were called the king's friends, in like manner as with us all that are of the nobility are called the king's cousins.

[y] To wear a purple robe among the Macedonians, was a mark of high nobility; and it was also the same among other nations; hence purple in all signifies such as are noble.

[z] 1 Maccab. x. 21—47. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 5.

should be again restored, they resolved rather to enter into league with Alexander. And therefore Jonathan, [a] accepting of his grant of the high priest's office, and having also for it the consent of all the people, did, on the feast of tabernacles, which soon after ensued, put on the pontifical robe, and then officiated as high priest, after that office, from the death of Alcimus, had been now vacant seven years. And from this time the office of high priest of the Jews became settled in the family of the Asmoneans, and continued in it for several descents, till the time of Herod, [b] who changed it from an office of inheritance to that of arbitrary will and pleasure. From that time, those that were in power did put in and put out the high priests as they thought fit, till at length the office was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Romans. From the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, the office of high priest of the Jews had been in the family of Jozadak, and was transmitted down in it, by lineal descent, to Onias the third of the name, that was in that office; who, being outed of it by the fraud of Jason his brother, and he again by the like fraud of Menelaus, another of those brothers, Alcimus was next, after the death of Menelaus, put into this office by the command of the king of Syria. Josephus tells us that he was not of the pontifical family, by which he means no more than that he was not of the descendants of Jozadak, though of the family of Aaron. For that [c] he is said to be; and that was enough to qualify him for the office, every descendant of Aaron being equally capable of it. Whether the Asmoneans were of that race of Jozadak or not, is not any where said. Only this is certain, that they were of the course [d] of Joarib, which was [e] the first class of the sons of Aaron. And therefore, on the failure of the former pontifical family, (which had then happened on the flight of Onias, the son of Onias, into Egypt,) they had the best right then to succeed. And with this right Jonathan took the office, when nominated to it by the king then reigning in Syria, and also elected thereto by the general suffrage of all the people of the land.

Both kings having with their armies taken the field, De-

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[a] 1 Maccab. x. 21. Joseph. ibid.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 25. c. 3. Euseb. Demonstrationes Evangelicas, lib. 8.

[c] 1 Maccab. vii. 14.

[d] 1 Maccab. ii. 1.

[e] 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

metrius, who wanted neither courage nor understanding when out of his drunken fits, [f] in the first battle had the victory: but he gained no advantage by it: for Alexander, being [g] speedily recruited by the three kings that first set him up, and strongly supported by them, and having also the Romans, and Jonathan on his side, was enabled thereby still to maintain his cause. And the Syrians continued, out of the aversion they had to Demetrius, still to make desertions from him. Whereon Demetrius, fearing where all this might end, [h] sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus (who both afterwards reigned in Syria,) to Cnidus, and there committed them, with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his which he had in that city, that so, in case the worst should happen to him in this war, they might there be secured out of the reach of any fatal stroke from it; and be reserved for such future turn of affairs as fortune should afterwards offer in their favour. Anno 152. Jonathan 9.

About this time there appeared another imposture, one [i] Andriscus of Adramyttium in Mysia, a young man of as mean condition in that place as Alexander had been at Rhodes; who, thinking to play the same game for the kingdom of Macedon, that the other had for the kingdom of Syria, pretended to be son to King Perseus who last reigned in Macedon; and, taking on him the name of Philip, by virtue of this title, claimed to reign in that country; but, finding his pretence at that time to be but little regarded there, he applied himself to Demetrius at Antioch; hoping, that, since the Romans had encouraged one impostor against him, he might the easier be induced to encourage another against them. But Demetrius, seeing plainly through the falsity of this pretence, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome. This he did, either that he thought thereby to ingratiate himself with the Romans, or else rather that he would not countenance a fraud, which was the same with that which he was then suffering under. But, on this impostor's being delivered at Rome, the Romans despising and neglecting him, [k] he made his escape thence into Macedonia, where he kindled such a war as cost the Romans the Anno 151. Jonathan 10.

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[f] Justin. lib. 35. c. 1.

[g] Justin. ibid.

[h] Liv. Epit. lib. [illegible]. Justin. lib. 35. c. 2.

[i] Epit. lib. 48, 49.

[k] Epit. Livii, lib. 49, 50. L. Floras, lib. 2. c. 4. Eutropius, lib. 4. Vellcius Patercul. lib. 1.

expence of a great deal of time, and also a great deal of blood and treasure again to quench it.

In the interim, the two contenders for the crown of Syria, having drawn together all their forces, [l] committed the determination of their cause to a decisive battle. In the first onset Demetrius' left wing put the opposite wing of the enemy to flight; but, pursuing them too far (a fault in war which hath lost many victories, and yet is still committed,) by the time they came back, the right wing in which Demetrius fought in person was over-borne, and he slain in the rout. As long as he could face the enemy, he omitted nothing either of valour or conduct for the obtaining of better success, but, at length, in the retreat, his horse having plunged him into a bog, they that pursued him there shot at him with their arrows, till he died, after having reigned in Syria 12 years.

Anno 150. Jonathan 11.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himself master of the whole Syrian empire, [m] sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, to desire that Cleopatra his daughter might be given him in marriage; which Ptolemy consenting to, carried her to Ptolemais, and there married her unto him. Jonathan being invited to the wedding, [n] went thither, and was received with great favour by both kings, especially by Alexander; who, to do him the greater honour, caused him to be clothed in purple, and ordered him to be enrolled among the chief of his friends, [o] and to take place near him among the first princes of his kingdom. And he constituted him also general of his forces in Judea, and gave him the office of [p] *Meridarches* in

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[l] 1 Maccab. x. 48—50. Justin, lib. 35. c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 5. Appian. in Syriacis. Polyb. lib. 3. p. 161.

[m] 1 Maccab. x. 51—58. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 7.

[n] 1 Maccab. x. 59—66.

[o] *i. e.* Of the nobles of his kingdom; for, under the Macedonians, the nobles had the style of the king's friends.

[p] *i. e.* Chief sewer, which is an office one of the electors bears in the German empire. Grotius thus explains the word in his comment on the Maccabees, 1 Maccab. x. 65. xi. 27. & 3 Mac. p. 796. But, in his comment on Matthew ix. 28. he expounds it rather to denote the governor of a tribe or province; and, if it be so taken here, and be understood to mean that Jonathan was rather made governor of some part of the Syrian empire than governor and orderer of the parts and dishes of the feast at the royal table, perchance this interpretation may reach the truth nearer than the other.

his palace. And, whereas many that maligned him came to Ptolemais, there to prefer libels of accusation against him, Alexander would receive none of them, but caused it to be proclaimed all over the city, that no one should presume to speak evil of him; whereon all his enemies fled from thence, and Jonathan returned with honour again into Judea.

Onias, the son of Onias, who, on his being disappointed of the high priesthood, on the death of his uncle Menelaus, fled into Egypt (as hath been above related,) there so far ingratiated himself with King Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his queen, that he [q] gained the chief of their confidence in all their affairs: for he was a great soldier and a great politician; and thereby became advanced to the highest post both in the army and in the court; and having, by the strength of his interest, introduced another Jew, called Dositheus, into the like favour, they two had the chief management of the government, during the latter end of Philometor's reign. And Onias having this power and interest with the king, made use of it at this time [r] to obtain from him licence to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, with a grant from him and his descendants to be always high priests in it. For the obtaining of the king's consent hereto, he set forth to him, that the building of such a temple for the Jews in Egypt, would be for the interest of his crown; that Jerusalem being within the territories of the king of Syria, the going of the Egyptian Jews thither annually to worship might give occasion for the seducing of them to the Syrian interest; that therefore it ought to be prevented; and that the building for them such a temple in Egypt would not only most effectually do this, but also draw many other Jews thither from Judea, and other parts, for the better peopling and strengthening of his kingdom. But his greatest difficulty was to reconcile the Jews to this new invention, their constant notion having hitherto been, that Jerusalem only was the place which God had chosen for his worship, and that it was sin to sacrifice to him upon any altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this, he produced to them the prophecy of Isaiah, where it is said, [s] *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language*

Anno 149. Jonathan 12.

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[q] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

[r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 6. & lib. 20. c. 8. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 30.

[s] Isaiah xix. 18, 19.

of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction. In that day shall there be an altar unto the Lord, in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord. And, having interpreted this place of holy scripture (which was truly meant only of the future state of the gospel in that country, as if it respected the then present times, he prevailed with all of his nation in Egypt to understand it so too, and thus served his purpose by it. And therefore, having thus gained the king, and also the Jews that were in Egypt, to approve of this project, [t] he immediately set about the building. The place which he chose for it was a plot of ground within the Nomos or prefecture of Heliopolis, at the distance of 24 miles from Memphis, where had formerly stood an old temple of Bubastis (which was another name of Isis, the great goddess of the Egyptians, but it was then wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore, having rid the ground of its ruins and rubbish, he there built upon the same spot his new Jewish temple. He made it exactly according to the pattern of that at Jerusalem, though not altogether so high nor so sumptuous; and there he placed an altar for burnt-offerings, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, and all other instruments, and utensils necessary for the Jewish service in the same manner as in the temple at Jerusalem, save only, that he had not there a golden candlestick of seven branches in the holy place, as was in that other temple, but, instead of it, had one great lamp hung there in its place by a golden chain from the roof of the house. It is the opinion of [u] a very learned man, that he was led to the choice of the prefecture of Heliopolis, for the erecting of the temple in it, by the same prophecy of Isaiah above recited, as then reading in the Hebrew text the word *Hacheres* for the word *Haheres*: as, if, instead of *Air haheres yeamar leæchath*, (i. e. *One shall be called the city of destruction*, as in our English translation) the reading then was *Air Hacheres yeamer Leæchath*, i. e. *One shall be called the city of the sun, i. e.* Heliopolis, for that name in Greek signifieth [x] *the city of the sun.*) And so much must be said for this conceit, that, in the Hebrew

[t] Josephus, ibid.

[u] Joseph. Scaliger in Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii, sub No. 1856. p. 144.

[x] This last reading Jerom follows: for he renders the place, *Civitas solis vocabitur una*, i. e. *One of them shall be called the city of the sun.*

alphabet, the letter *(Ch)* and the letter *(H)* are so much alike, that they may by transcribers, very easily be mistaken the one for the other, and thereby a various reading be made in that place. And it is certain, that, in the time of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Chaldee paraphraser of the prophets, who lived not much above 100 years after the erecting of this temple, there was no doubt whether *Cheres* or *Heris* was the true reading in that place, though there be no *Keri Cetib* at it; and therefore, in paraphrasing of that text, he took both in, and renders the place, *The city of the temple of the sun, which is to be destroyed, shall be said to be one of them.* For which interpretation no other reason can be given, but that it being then uncertain, which of the two readings was the true one, he solved the difficulty by taking in both. But the true reason why Onias built his temple in this place was, he had the government of this Nomos or prefecture under the king, and had there given unto him a large territory, whereon he built a city, which from his name he called [y] Onion, and planted all that territory with Jews; and therefore he could not find a place more to the advantage and convenience either of himself or his people any where else for it. And, after he had thus built his temple, he surrounded the æra within which it stood with a high brick wall, and placed priests and Levites to officiate in it; and from that time the divine service was therein daily carried on in the same manner and order as in the temple at Jerusalem, till, at length, after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, this temple also [z] was first shut up, and afterwards wholly demolished and destroyed, with the city of Onion, in which it stood, by the command of Vespasian the Roman emperor, about 224 years after it had been first built.

In favour of this temple of Onias, the septuagint renders the passage of Isaiah above mentioned Πόλις Ασηδὲκ κληθήσεται ἡμίχ πόλις, i. e. *one of the cities shall be called Azedek*, intimating

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[y] When Antipater and Mithridates were marching with forces to the assistance of Julius Cæsar in his Alexandrian war, Josephus tells us, (Antiq. lib. 14. c. 14.) that they were opposed in their passage by the Egyptian Jews, who were οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου λεγομένην χώραν κατοικοῦντες, i. e. *inhabitants of the region, called the region or territory of Onion*, i. e. of the city Onion built by Onias, and so called by his name: which region or country, the same Josephus tells us, Onias planted all over with Jews.

[z] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 30.

thereby, as if the original were neither *Air Haheres*, nor *Air Hacheres*, but *Air Hazedek*, i. e. *the city of righteousness*; which is a plain corrupting of the text, to make it speak for the honour and approbation of the temple of Onias, which was there built. From whence these two inferences are plainly deducible: 1. That the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, which we call the Septuagint, was made by the Jews of Egypt, who worshipped God at the temple of Onias: and, *2dly*, That this part of it which gives us the version of Isaiah (and the same may be said as to the other prophets) was made after that temple was built; which agrees exactly with what I have above written of the original of this version; that is, 1. That it was first made for the use of the Hellenistical Jews of Alexandria. 2. That it was not made all at the same time, but by parts, at different times, as they needed it for the use of their synagogues. 3. That they needed it for that use as soon as there was a necessity for the reading of the scriptures, in the Greek language, in the said synagogues. 4. That this necessity begun as soon as the Greek became the common language of the Jews in that place, and their own was worn out and forgot among them; which happened about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt. 5. That, till the time of the Maccabees, the law only having been read in their synagogues, till that time they needed none other of the scriptures, but the law only, to have been translated for this use; and therefore, till then, no more of them than the law was put into the Greek language. 6. That when the Jews of Jerusalem, in the time of the Maccabees, (that is, of the three brothers, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, whose history, under the name of Maccabees, is written in the apocryphal scriptures,) had brought in the prophets also to be read in their synagogues on the occasion I have above mentioned; and the Jews of Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene, thought fit to follow their example herein; this made it necessary for them to have the prophets also translated into Greek for this purpose; which being most certainly not done till after the time of the Maccabees, (for sooner we cannot suppose the usage to have been propagated from Jerusalem so far as into Egypt, and the thing there settled,) it must from hence follow, that it must not have been done till after the building of Onias' temple also, that having been built in the 11th year of the government of Jonathan, the second of those Maccabees, as I have here placed it.

About this time, [a] there arose a great sedition at Alexandria between the Jews and the Samaritans of that city, the former holding Jerusalem, and the other Mount Gerizim, to be the place where, according to the law, God was to be worshipped; they did rage their contentions about this point so high, that at length they came to open arms. Whereon, for the quelling of this disturbance, a day was appointed for the hearing and determining of the dispute before King Ptolemy and his council. The point in contest was, whether by the law of Moses, Jerusalem or Mount Gerizim was the place where God was to be worshipped by Israel; and advocates were appointed on each side to argue and plead the cause: wherein the Samaritans failing of that proof which they pretended to, their advocates were put to death, for making the contention; and so the whole disorder ceased.

Alexander Balas, having gotten into the possession of the crown of Syria, by the means I have mentioned, thought now that he had nothing else to do but to glut himself in the enjoyment of all those vicious pleasures of luxury, idleness, and debauchery, which the plenty and power he was then invested with could afford him. And therefore [b] giving himself wholly up to them, and spending most of his time with lewd women, which he had in a great number got about him, he took no care at all of the government, but left it wholly to the [c] administration of a favourite of his, called Ammonius, who, managing himself in it with great insolence, tyranny, and cruelty, put to death Queen Laodice, sister of Demetrius who had been wife to Perseus king of Macedon,) and Antigonus a son of his that had been left behind, when the other two were sent to Cnidus, and all others of the royal family that he could get into his power, thinking this the best means of securing to his master, the possession of the crown, which, by fraud and imposture, he had usurped from them. Whereby he soon made both Alexander and himself very odious to all the people. Of which Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, (who had by his father been sent to Cnidus in the beginning of the late war, and was now grown up to years of puberty) having received notice, thought this a proper time for him to recover his

Anno 148. Jonathan 15.

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[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 6.

[b] Livii Epitom. lib. 50. Athenæus, lib. 5. Justin. lib. 35. c. 2.

[c] Joseph. lib. 13. c. 8. Livius, ibid.

right; and therefore, [d] having, by the means of Lasthenes his host, hired a band of Cretans, landed with them in Cilicia, and there soon growing to a great army, took possession of all that country; whereby Alexander being roused up from his sloth, was forced to leave his seraglio of concubines which he had got about him, to look after his affairs; and therefore, having committed the government of Antioch to [e] Hierax, and Diodotus, who was also called [f] Tryphon, he [g] took the field with as many forces as he could get together; and, hearing that Apollonius, governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he called in King Ptolemy, his father-in-law, to his assistance.

But the name of Apollonius often occurring in the history of these times, before we proceed further herein, it is necessary to give an account who the persons were that bore this name, that so this part of the history may be cleared from that confusion and obscurity which otherwise it must lie under. For, Apollonius being a very common name among the Syro-Macedonians as well as the Greeks, it was not always the same person whom we find mentioned by this name in the occurrences of those times. The first that we meet with of this name in the history of the Maccabees is Apollonius the son of Thraseas, [h] who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Seleucus Philopater, when Heliodorus came to Jerusalem to rob the temple, and afterwards by his authority in that province, [i] supported Simon, the governor of the temple at Jerusalem, against Onias the high priest. The same was also chief minister of state to the said King Seleucus. But, on the coming of his brother Antiochus Epiphanes to the crown after him, Apollonius being some way made obnoxious to him, left Syria, and [k] retired to Miletus. At the same time, while he resided at Miletus, [l] he had a son of the same name at Rome, there bred up and residing with Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, who was then an hostage in that place. This Apollonius, being a prime favourite and confident of Demetrius', was, on his recovering of the crown

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[d] 1 Maccab. x. 67. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 6. Justin. lib. 35. c. 2.
[e] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii p. 346.
[f] 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.
[g] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.
[h] 2 Maccab. iii. 5.
[i] 2 Maccab. iv. 4.
[k] Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944, 945.
[l] Polyb. ibid.

of Syria, made governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, the same government which his father was in under Seleucus Philopater. And this I take to be the Apollonius, who, [m] being continued in the same government by Alexander, now revolted from him, to embrace the interest of Demetrius, the son of his old master. Another Apollonius is spoken of [n] as favourite and chief minister of Antiochus Epiphanes; but he, being said to be the son of Menestheus, is sufficiently distinguished by that character from the other two above mentioned. He [o] went ambassador from Antiochus first [o] to Rome, and afterwards to [p] Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt; and him I take to be the same, who, in the history of the Maccabees, is said [q] to be over the tribute, and who, on Antiochus' return from his last expedition into Egypt, was sent with a detachment of 22,000 men, to destroy Jerusalem, and build that fortress or citadel on Mount Acra, which held the Jews there by the throat for many years after. Besides these, there are two other Apollonius' mentioned in the history of the Maccabees; the first, [r] who being governor of Samaria in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was slain in battle by Judas Maccabæus; and the other [s] called the son of Gennæus, who being governor of some toparchy in Palestine under Antiochus Eupator, then signalized himself by being a great enemy to the Jews.

Apollonius having embraced the party of Demetrius, as I have mentioned, his first attempt was to reduce Jonathan, who held firm to the interest of Alexander, according to the league which he had made with him. And therefore [t] having drawn together a great army, he encamped with it at Jamnia, and from thence sent to Jonathan a proud braggadocio message, to challenge him to come to battle with him; whereon Jonathan, marching out of Jerusalem with 10,000 men, took Joppa, in the sight of Apollonius and his army; and after this, joining battle with him, vanquished him in the open field, and pursued his broken forces to Azotus, and, having taken that town, set it on fire, and burnt it down to the ground, with the temple of Dagon that was in it, con-

[m] 1 Maccab. x. 69.
[n] 2 Maccab. iv. 21.
[o] 1 Maccab. i. 29. 2 Maccab. v. 24.
[p] 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7, & 10.
[q] 2 Maccab. viii. 8.
[r] 1 Maccab. x. 69—87. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.
[s] Livius, lib. 42. c. 6.
[t] 1 Maccab. iv. 21.

suming all those with it that fled thither to save themselves; so that there perished that day of the enemies' force, what by the sword, and what by fire, about 8000 men. After this, treating other towns of the enemy in the country round after the same manner, he returned to Jerusalem with their spoils. Whereon [u] Alexander hearing of this victory gained in his interest, sent to Jonathan a buckle of gold, such as used only to be given those to wear who were of the royal family; and he gave him also the city of Ecron, with the territory thereto belonging, and ordered him to be put in possession of it.

About this time [x] flourished Hipparchus of Nicæa in Bithynia, the most celebrated astronomer of all the ancients. He gave himself up to this study for 34 years, making, through all that time, continual observations of the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies, which are still preserved in the works of Ptolemy the astronomer. These observations he began in the year before Christ 162, and ended them anno 128, soon after which year we suppose he died. The Jews call him [y] Abrachus, and his name is of great renown among them, and that very deservedly: for Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Adda, and Rabbi Hillel, the authors of that form of the year which they now use, were mostly beholden to him for the observations and calculations by which they made it.

Anno 147. Jonathan 14.

Ptolemy Philometor, having been called to the assistance of his son-in-law, Alexander king of Syria, [z] marched into Palestine, with a great army for this purpose; and all the cities, as he passed, opening their gates to him, as being ordered by Alexander so to do, he left of his soldiers in each of them to strengthen their garrisons. [a] At Joppa Jonathan met him, and although many complaints were made against him about the devastations made by him in those parts, after his late victory over Apollonius, yet he would take no notice of any of them, but Jonathan was very kindly received by him, and marched on with him to Ptolemais. On Ptolemy's coming thither, [b] dis-

Anno 146. Jonathan 15.

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[u] 1 Maccab. x. 88, 89.
[x] Ptolemæi magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2. Plinius, lib. 2. c. 26.
[y] David Ganz, sub anno 3534.
[z] 1 Maccab. xi. 1—5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.
[a] 1 Maccab. xi. 6, 7. Joseph. ibid.
[b] 1 Maccab. xi. 10. Joseph. ibid.

covery was made of snares that were laid for his life; for [c] Ammonius, who managed all affairs under Alexander, fearing, that Ptolemy came with so great a power, rather to serve his own interest, by seizing Syria to himself, than to succour Alexander, or else having received intelligence, that this was really his intent, formed a design of having him cut off on his coming to Ptolemais: which Ptolemy having gotten full discovery of, marched forward to demand the traitor to be delivered to him; and Jonathan attended on him as far as the river Eleutherus in Syria. From thence [d] Ptolemy marched to Seleucia on the Orontes, where, finding, that Alexander would not deliver up Ammonius to him, he concluded him to be a party to the treason; and therefore taking his daughter from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and made a league with him, for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. Hereon [e] the Antiochians, who bore great hatred to Ammonius, thinking this a fit time for the executing of their resentments upon him, rose in a tumult against him, and having slain him, as he endeavoured to escape in woman's clothes, declared against Alexander, and opened their gates to Ptolemy, and [f] would have made him their king; but [g] he declaring himself contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting this offer, recommended to them the restoration of Demetrius, the true heir, (which is a certain proof he had no design upon Syria for himself, though this be said [h] in the first book of the Maccabees:) upon which recommendation, Demetrius being received into the city, was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and all the inhabitants of Antioch declared for him. Whereon Alexander, who was then in Cilicia, coming thence with all his forces [i] wasted the country round Antioch with fire and sword. This brought the two armies to a battle, [k] in which Alexander being vanquished, fled with only 500 horse to Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had before entrusted his children. But he being there slain by those he most confided in, his

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[c] Joseph. ibid. Epit. Livii. lib. 50.
[d] 1 Maccab. xi. 8—12. Joseph. ibid. Livii. Epit. lib. 52.
[e] 1 Maccab. xi. 13. Joseph. ibid.
[f] 1 Maccab. ibid. Joseph. ibid.
[g] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 4.
[h] 1 Maccab. xi. 1.
[i] 1 Maccab. xi. 6. Joseph. ibid.
[k] 1 Maccab. xi. 15—17. Joseph. ibid. Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Photii, cod 244.

head was carried to Ptolemy, who was much pleased with the sight of it; but his joy did not last long; for, having [l] received a dangerous wound in the battle, he died of it within a few days after. And thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, both ended their lives together, the former having reigned five, and the other 35 years. Demetrius succeeding in Syria, by virtue of this victory, from hence called himself Nicator, *i. e.* the conqueror. But the succession in Egypt was not so easily determined.

This same year was rendered famous, not only by the death of these two kings, but also by the destruction of two celebrated cities, Carthage and Corinth. The former [m] was destroyed by Scipio Africanus jun. after a war of three years, which was called the third Punic war. And the other [n] was taken and burnt by L. Mummius the Roman consul for this year. In the burning of this city, all their brass being melted down, and running together with other metals, this mixture [o] made the *Æs Corinthiacum*, *i. e.* the famous Corinthian brass of the ancients.

At this same year ended the famous history of Polybius, which [p] he wrote in 40 books, beginning it from the beginning of the second Punic war, and ending it at the end of the third. But of this great and celebrated work, now only five books remain entire: of the rest we have only fragments and abstracts. He was by birth of Magalopolis in Arcadia, and the son of Lycortas, the famous supporter of the Achæan commonwealth in his time. This commonwealth, much resembling that of the Dutch, was made out of the confederacy of several states and cities of Peloponnesus united together in one common league. [q] Aratus first made it considerable, [q] Philopœmen brought it to its highest perfection, and Lycortas, as long as he lived, kept it up in the same state.

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[l] 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Joseph. ibid. Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 194. Epit. Livii, lib. 52. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 751.

[m] Livii Epit. lib. 51. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 16. Appian. in Libycis. Velleius Patercul. lib. 1.

[n] Livii Epit. lib. 52. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 16. Pausanias in Achaicis. Justin. lib. 34. c. 2.

[o] Plinius, lib. 34. c. 2. L. Florus, ibid.

[p] Videas Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1. c. 19. & Casauboni Epistolam Dedicatorium Edit. suæ Polyb. premissam.

[q] Plutarch. in Arato & Philopœmene.

And Polybius his son, who was a person very eminent for all military and political knowledge, would have continued to have done the same, but that he was overborne by the Romans. For they becoming jealous, what this growing commonwealth might at length come to, resolved to suppress it, in order whereto [r] they forced from them 1000 of their best men, and made them live in Italy, in manner of hostages, but chiefly with design, that their commonwealth, being deprived of its principal men, might sink and come to nothing through want of them. Of these 1000 hostages, Polybius was one of the chiefest. While he was thus confined he lived at Rome, and there made use of the leisure which that confinement afforded him to write this history. He had much of the favour and friendship of Scipio Africanus jun. to whom, by reason of his learning and wisdom, he was very dear; and therefore, when he went into Africa in the third Punic war, he carried Polybius with him, and it was chiefly owing to the assistance of his counsel and advice, that Scipio ended that war with success; and in that end of it, Polybius ended his history much grieving, that at the same time ended also the Achæan commonwealth, in the destruction of Corinth, and the subjecting thereon to the Roman yoke the rest of the cities and states of which that commonwealth did consist. He lived a long while after, for he reached the [s] 82d year of his age.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, on the death of King Philometor, her brother and husband, [t] endeavoured to secure the succession for her son which she had by him. But he being then young, others set up for Physcon king of Cyrene, the brother of the deceased, and sent ambassadors to call him to Alexandria. This necessitating Cleopatra to provide for the defence of herself and her son, Onias and Dositheus came to her with an army of Jews for her assistance. But at that time Thermus, an ambassador from Rome, being present at Alexandria, by his interposition, matters were compromised, on the terms that Physcon should take Cleopatra to wife, and breed up her son under his tuition for the next succession, and reign in the

Anno 145. Jonathan 16.

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[r] Pausanias in Achaicis & Arcadicis. Plutarch. in Catone Censore & alibi.

[s] Lucianus in Macrobiis.

[t] Justin. lib. [illegible] c. 8. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 1.

interim. That the Egyptians were thus delivered from a civil war, and the differences then among them on this occasion all brought to a composure in this manner, Josephus tells us, was wholly owing to the assistance which Onias and Dositheus then brought to the queen. However, the perfidy of Physcon made all this turn very little to the service or content of Cleopatra. For, as soon as he had married her, and thereby got possession of the crown, he murdered her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials, and thereby acted over again the same tragedy which Ptolemy Ceraunus [u] had before on the marriage of his sister Arsinoe; and such incestuous conjunctions well deserve such a curse to attend them. This king was commonly called [x] Physcon, by reason of his great belly; but the name [y] which he affected to assume was Euergetes, *i. e. the Benefactor:* this the Alexandrians turned into *Kakergetes, i. e. the Malefactor*, by reason of his great wickedness; for he was [z] the wickedest and cruelest, and also the most vile and despicable of all the Ptolemys that reigned in Egypt. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew, in the manner I have mentioned, and continued it with the same cruelty and wickedness all his reign after, putting many others to death, almost every day, some upon groundless suspicions, some for small faults, and others for none at all, as the humour took him, and some again for no other reason, but that, under the pretence of forfeiture, he might take all that they had; and those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown were many of them the first that suffered by him.

And things went not much better in Syria. Demetrius, [a] being young and inexperienced, committed the management of his affairs to Lasthenes, by whose agency he hired those Cretan mercenaries that brought him to the crown; who, being a wicked and rash man, did soon run himself into those mal-administrations, that alienated from his master the affections of those who should have supported him. And Demetrius himself, being naturally of an unhappy or perverse

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[u] See above, Part II. book 1. under the year 280.

[x] Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. . Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 351, & 375.

[y] Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 549. & lib. 4. p. 148.

[z] Athenæus, ibid. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 351, & 375. Justin. lib. 38. c. 8.

[a] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 346.

disposition, did not mend the matter. The first false step he made was towards those soldiers which Ptolemy had placed in the maritime towns of Phœnicia and Syria, for the strengthening of their garrisons, as he passed by them toward Antioch, in his late expedition thither. These, if continued there, would have been a great strength and support to him; but, upon some suggestions, growing jealous of them, [b] he sent orders to the other soldiers garrisoned with them, to put them all to the sword: which being accordingly executed, this so disgusted the rest of the Egyptian army that were in Syria, and had there placed him on the throne, that they all left him, and returned again into Egypt. After this, [c] he proceeded to make a severe inquisition after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death, as he could get them into his power. And then, thinking he had no more enemies to fear, [d] he disbanded the greatest part of his army, reserving none other in his pay but his Cretans, and some other mercenaries; whereby he not only deprived himself of those veterans who served his father, and would have been his chief support in the throne, but made them also his bitterest enemies, by depriving them of the only means which they had whereby to subsist: the mischief of which he severely felt in the revolts and revolutions that after happened.

In the interim Jonathan, finding all quiet in Judea, [e] set himself to besiege the fortress which the Heathen still held in Jerusalem, that, by expelling them thence, he might remedy those mischiefs which the Jews there suffered from them. And accordingly he beset the place, with an army and engines of war, in order to take it: of which, complaint being made to Demetrius, he came to Ptolemais, and there summoned Jonathan to him to give him an account of this matter. Whereon, ordering the siege still to go on, he went to Ptolemais, taking with him some of the priests and chief elders of the land, and also many rich and valuable presents; by virtue of which, and his wise management, he so mollified the king, and ingratiated himself so far with him and his ministers, that he not only rejected all accusations against him, but also honoured him with many favours. For he

[b] 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.
[c] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 346—349.
[d] 1 Maccab. xi. 38. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.
[e] 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 8.

not only confirmed him in the high priest's office, admitted him into a chief place among his friends, and, on his request, agreed to add to Judea the three toparchies of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which formerly belonged to Samaria, and to free the whole land under his government of all manner of taxes, tolls, and tributes, whatsoever, for 300 talents, to be paid in lieu of them, and then returned again to Antioch; where [f] going on in the same methods of cruelty, folly, and rashness, he daily alienated the people more and more from him, till, at length, he made them all ready for a general defection.

Which being observed by Diodotus, afterwards called Tryphon, who formerly had served Alexander as governor of Antioch in conjunction with Hierax, he [g] thought this a fit time for him to play a gaining game for his own interest, aiming at nothing less than, by the advantage of these disorders, to put the crown upon his own head. And therefore, going [h] into Arabia to Zabdiel, who had the bringing up of Antiochus, the son of Alexander, laid before him the then state of affairs in Syria, telling him, how all the people, and especially the soldiery, were disaffected to Demetrius, and that thereby a favourable opportunity was offered for recovering to Antiochus his father's kingdom. And therefore he desired, that the youth might be put into his hands, that he might prosecute this advantage for him. For this scheme of treason was first to claim the crown for Antiochus; and, when he should have gotten it, by virtue of that claim, then to make away that youth, and wear it himself; and so it afterwards accordingly happened. But Zabdiel, either seeing

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[f] Justin. lib. 36. c. 1.

[g] 1 Maccab. 11—39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. Appian. in Syriacis. Epitome, Livii, lib. 52. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 752.

[h] In the Greek original, this Zabdiel is called Σιμαλκυηλ, from the Arabic word *Almelec*, i. e. *the King*. The former was the name of his person, the other of his office; for he was king of that part of Arabia where he lived. In some Greek copies it is Σιμαλκυηλ, as in Aldus' the Alexandrian, and the Complutensian; and, out of one of these copies the English version being made, hence therein we read *Simalcue*. But, in what copy soever Σιμαλκυηλ is found, it is, by the error of the transcribers, for Ιαμαλκυηλ: for, it is certain, the latter only can be the true reading. This the Syriac and Jerom's version justify; and the word so written signifieth something, the other nothing.

through the design, or else disliking the project, would not immediately yield to the proposal, which detained Tryphon there many days further to press and solicit the matter, till at length, either by the force of his importunities, or the force of his presents, he brought over Zabdiel to comply with him, and obtained from him what he desired.

In the meanwhile, Jonathan pressed hard on the siege of the fortress at Jerusalem; but, finding no success in it, he [i] sent an embassy to Demetrius, to desire of him the withdrawing of this garrison which he could not expel. Demetrius, being then very much embarrassed by the tumults and seditions of the Antiochians, whom he had provoked to the utmost aversion both against him and his government, promised Jonathan, that he would do this and much more for him, provided he would send him some forces for his assistance against the present mutineers: whereon Jonathan immediately dispatched away to him 3000 men. On their arrival, Demetrius, confiding in the strength of this recruit, would have disarmed the Antiochians, and therefore commanded them all to bring in their arms: which they refusing to do, rose all in a tumult, to the number of 120,000 men, and beset the palace, with intent to slay the tyrant. Hereon the Jews coming to his assistance, fell upon them with fire and sword, burning a great part of the city, and slaying of the inhabitants about 100,000 persons. This brought the rest to sue for peace; which being granted them the tumult ceased; and the Jews, having thus retaliated upon the Antiochians what they had formerly suffered from them in Judah and Jerusalem, especially in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned with vast spoils and great honour to their own country.

But Demetrius, [k] still going on with his same methods of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, put many to death for the late sedition, confiscated the goods of others, and drove great numbers into banishment. Whereon the whole kingdom being every where filled with hatred and anger against him, they only wanted an opportunity for their revenge for the executing of it upon him to the utmost. And notwithstanding his promises to Jonathan, and the great obligations which he owed to him for his late assistance, his [l] conduct towards him was no better than to all the rest. For, think-

[i] 1 Maccab. xi. 41—52. Joseph. lib. 13. c. 9. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 347, 348.

[k] Diodor. ibid.

[l] 1 Maccab. xi. 53.

ing now he should have no more need of him, he broke the bargain he had made with him at Ptolemais, of freeing him and his people from all taxes, tolls, and tribute, for 300 talents, to be paid him for the redemption of them, and, notwithstanding he had received the money, [m] demanded, that all the said taxes, tolls, and tribute, should be still paid in the utmost rigour as formerly, and threatened him with war unless this were done; whereby he alienated the Jews as much from him as he had all others.

While things were in this state, [n] Tryphon, having at length obtained of Zabdiel to have Antiochus, the son of Alexander, delivered unto him, came with him into Syria, and there laid claim to the kingdom for him: whereon all the soldiers whom Demetrius had disbanded, and multitudes of others, whom he had by his ill conduct made his enemies, flocked to the pretender; and, having declared him king, marched under his banner against Demetrius; and, having vanquished him in battle, forced him into Seleucia, took all his elephants, and made themselves masters of Antioch, and there placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, giving him the name of *Theos*, or *the divine*.

Anno 144. Jonathan 17.

And Jonathan, being provoked by the ill return Demetrius had made him for his great services to him, accepted of the invitation which he had received from the new king, of coming into his interest. For, as soon as Antiochus had gained Antioch, there [o] was sent from him an embassy to Jonathan, with letters written in his name, whereby the high priest's office was confirmed to him, the grant of the three toparchies renewed, and a fourth added to them; and he was allowed to wear purple, and the golden buckle, and to have place among the chief of the king's friends; and many other privileges and advantages were moreover added. And Simon was made chief commander of all the king's forces, from [p] the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt, on condition that these two brothers and the Jews would declare for him; which Jonathan readily consented to, having just reason for

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[m] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.

[n] 1 Maccab. xi. 54—56. Epitome Livii, lib. 52. Josephus, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis.

[o] 1 Maccab. xi. 57—59. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.

[p] The Ladder of Tyre is a mountain so called, lying on the sea coast between Tyre and Ptolemais.

it from the ill conduct of Demetrius towards him. Whereon [q] a commission was sent him to raise forces for the service of Antiochus through all Cœle-Syria and Palestine; by virtue whereof, having gotten together a great army, [r] he marched round the country even as far as Damascus, to secure all in those parts to the interest of Antiochus. For [s] the diverting of Jonathan from this purpose, the forces which Demetrius had in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia drew together, and invaded Galilee: whereon [t] Jonathan marched thither to oppose them, [u] leaving Simon to command in Judea. On [x] his first coming into Galilee, being drawn into an ambush, he had like to have been overborne by the enemy; and most of his forces falling into a panic fear, fled from him, excepting a very few of the valiantest of them. But these few making a resolute stand, the rest rallied, and, coming on again to the fight won the victory. And [y] Simon, in the interim, laying siege to Bethsura, forced it to a surrender, and thereby expelled the Heathen, who had long kept a garrison there, to the great annoyance of all the country round it.

Jonathan, on his return into Judea, finding all things were in quiet, [z] sent ambassadors to the Romans to renew with them the league which they made with Judas; who, being introduced into the senate, were there received with honour, and dismissed with their full satisfaction. On their return from Rome, their orders were to address themselves to the Lacedemonians, and the other allies of the Jews in those parts, for the like renewing of their leagues with them; which they having accordingly done, they returned to Jerusalem, bringing back with them full success in all the negociations on which they were sent.

The [a] captains of Demetrius' forces, whom Jonathan had lately vanquished in Galilee, having, by new reinforcements, much increased their number and strength, came the second

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[q] Josephus, ibid.
[r] 1 Maccab. xi. 60—62. Josephus, ibid.
[s] 1 Maccab. xi. 63.
[t] 1 Maccab. xi. 64. Josephus, ibid.
[u] 1 Maccab. & Josephus, ibid.
[x] 1 Maccab. xi. 67—74.
[y] 1 Maccab. xi. 65, 66. & xiv. 7. & 33. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.
[z] 1 Maccab. xii. 1—18. Josephus, ibid.
[a] 1 Maccab. xii. 24—34. Josephus, ibid.

time against him: whereon he marched out to meet them, as far as Amathis, in the utmost confines of Canaan, and there encamped against them: where, being informed by his spies, that their intent was to storm his camp the next night, he took care to be in full readiness to receive them; which the enemy finding on their approach, they were so discouraged at the disappointment, that, returning to their camp, and lighting fires in it to make it believed that they were still there, they marched off in the night, and were got so far by the time Jonathan found they were gone, that, though he immediately, on the discovery of it, pursued after them, yet it was all in vain. For they had passed the river Eleutherus, and were thereby got out of his reach before he could come up thither. After this he led back his army against the Arabs that were of Demetrius' party, and, having smitten them, and taken their spoils, turned his course towards Damascus; and, passing over the country thereabout, made strict inquiry after all that were adversaries to the interest of Antiochus, and suppressed them every where. And, while he was thus employed beyond Jordan, Simon his brother was not idle in Judea: for, marching thence into the land of the Philistines, he made all there submit to him; and, having taken Joppa, he placed there a strong garrison in it.

After this, both brothers being returned to Jerusalem, [b] they called the great council of the nation together, to consult about the repairing and new fortifying of Jerusalem, and other strong holds in Judea, so that they might be made tenable against any enemy that should come against them. And it being then agreed, that the walls of Jerusalem, where they were broken down or decayed, should be repaired, and where too low should be built higher, and every thing else done that was necessary thoroughly to fortify the place; all this was immediately set about, and carried on with the utmost expedition. And at the same time they built a wall or mount between the fortress and the rest of the city, that the Heathen who were in garrison there, might receive no relief of provision, or of any thing else that way: which soon reduced them to great distress, and very much forwarded that necessity, whereby at last they were forced to surrender the place. Jonathan took on himself the oversight of all these works at Jerusalem; and while he was there thus employed, Simon went into the country, and did the same as to all the other for-

[b] 1 Maccab. xii. 35—38. Josephus ibid.

tresses, and strong holds that were in the land; and thereby the whole country became well fortified against any enemy that should come to make war against it.

Tryphon, [c] thinking his plot for the making away of Antiochus, and seizing the crown of Syria to himself, now ripe for execution in all other particulars, save only that he foresaw Jonathan would never be brought to bear so great a villany, resolved at any rate to take him out of the way; and therefore marched with a great army towards Judea, in order to get him into his power, that so he might put him to death. On his coming to Bethsan, there Jonathan met him with 40,000 men. Tryphon, seeing him at the head of so great an army, durst not openly attempt any thing against him; but endeavoured to deceive him by flattering words, and a false appearance of friendship, pretending, that he came thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he intended wholly to resign to him; and, having deceived him by these fair pretences, he persuaded him to send away all his army, except 3000 men, 2000 of which he sent into Galilee; and, with the other 1000, he went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, expecting, according to the oath of that traitor, to have the place delivered to him; but as soon as he and his company were got within the walls, the gates were shut upon them, and Jonathan was made a prisoner, and all his men were put to the sword. And immediately forces were sent out to cut off the 2000 also that were in Galilee; but they having notice of what had been done to Jonathan and his men at Ptolemais, encouraged each other to stand to their defence; and then, joining close together, put themselves in a posture resolutely to fight for their lives; which the enemy perceiving, durst not attack them, but permitted them quietly to march off; and they all returned safe to Jerusalem, where was great lamentation for what had happened to Jonathan. For hereon [d] all the Heathen round about, finding the Jews thus deprived of their captain, were making ready to destroy them: and Tryphon, drawing together all his forces for the same purpose, reckoned on this opportunity, utterly to cut off and extirpate the whole nation. Whereon [e] the people being in great fears, Simon went up to the temple, and then calling the

[c] 1 Maccab. xii. 39—52. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 10.
[d] 1 Maccab. xiii. 53.
[e] 1 Maccab. xiii. 1—11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

people together to him, encouraged them [f] to stand to their defence, and offered himself to fight for them, as his father and brothers had done before him. Whereon their hearts being again raised, and their drooping spirits revived, they unanimously made choice of Simon to be their captain in the place of Jonathan; and, under his conduct and direction, immediately set themselves hard at work for the finishing of the fortifications at Jerusalem, which Jonathan had begun. And on Tryphon's approach to invade the land, [g] Simon led forth a great army against him; wherein Tryphon not daring to engage him in battle, sent to him a deceitful message, telling him, that he had seized Jonathan only because he owed 100 talents to the king; that, in case he would send the money and Jonathan's two sons to be hostages for their father's fidelity to the king, he would set him again at liberty. Though Simon well saw all this was fraud and deceit, yet he complied, to avoid the ill report which otherwise might have been raised against him, as if he had wilfully caused his brother's death by the refusal; and therefore sent both the money and the young men. But the false traitor, according as Simon foresaw, when he had received all that he demanded, would do nothing of what he had promised; but still detained Jonathan in chains; and, after having gotten together more forces, [h] he came again to invade the land, with intent utterly to destroy it. But Simon, coasting him wherever he marched, opposed and baffled him in all his designs. At this time the Heathen garrison in the fortress at Jerusalem, being much distressed by reason of the blockade laid at first by Jonathan, and now continued by Simon, pressed hard for relief; and Tryphon, having accordingly formed a design of sending relief to them, ordered out all his horse one night for the executing of it. But they had not marched far, ere there fell so great a snow, as not only made their further proceeding on this enteprise impracticable, but also forced Tryphon and all

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[f] The outer court of the temple which was called the court of the Gentiles, was the place where the people assembled on all occasions. It was called the court of the Gentiles, because so far as into this court the Gentiles of what nation soever might come, but were not allowed to pass the Chel into the inner court, unless they were circumcised, and made thorough proselytes to the whole Jewish law.

[g] 1 Maccab. xiii. 12—19. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

[h] 1 Maccab. xiii. 20—24.

his army next day to decamp and begone, as being able no longer to bear abroad in the field the severity of the season. On his retreat from thence to his winter-quarters, coming to Bascama in the land of Gilead, he there put Jonathan to death. And after that thinking he had no one else to fear, for the obstructing of him in the ultimate execution of his designs, [i] caused Antiochus to be secretly put to death, giving out that he died of the stone; and then, assuming the crown, declared himself king of Syria in his stead.

When Simon heard of his brother's death, and that they had buried him at Bascama, he [k] sent and fetched his bones from thence, and buried them in the sepulchre of his father at Modin, over which he afterward erected a very famous monument of a great height, all built of white marble, curiously wrought and polished; near which he placed seven pyramids, two for his father and mother, four for his four brothers, and the seventh for himself, and then encompassed the whole with a stately portico supported by marble pillars, each of an whole piece. All which was a very excellent work; and being erected on an eminence, was seen far off at sea, and was taken notice of as a remarkable sea-mark on that coast, whereby sea-faring men who sailed that way directed their course. Josephus [k] tells us, that it was remaining entire in his time, and then looked on as a curious and very excellent piece of architecture; and Eusebius also [l] speaks of it as still being in his time, which was above 200 years after the time of Josephus. Anno 143. Simon 1.

Tryphon, having usurped the crown of Syria, would gladly have himself [m] acknowledged king by the Romans, as thinking this would add great reputation both to himself and his affairs; and therefore sent a splendid embassy to them, with

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[i] 1 Maccab. xiii. 31, 32. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 12. Epit. Livii. lib. 55. Justin. lib. 36. c. 1. The words of Josephus concerning the death of Antiochus are, That it was given out ὡς χειριζόμενος ἀποθάνοι, i. e. as if he died while under the hands of the chirurgeon for cure; for so the word χειρίζομαι is used in Hippocrates: and Livy telling us, that his pretended disease was the stone, it may from hence be inferred, that what was given out was, that he died under the hands of the chirurgeon cutting him for the stone.

[k] 1 Maccab. xiii. 27—30. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

[l] In Libello περὶ τῶν τόπων ὀνομάτων.

[m] Diodor. Sic. legat. 31.

the present of a golden image of victory, to the value of 10,000 of pieces of gold, hoping to obtain both for the sake of so valuable a gift, and the good omen of victory which the image carried with it, to be owned by them as king of Syria. But the Romans, cunningly eluding his expectations, received the image, and ordered to be engraven on it the name of Antiochus, whom Tryphon had lately murdered, as if he had been the donor of it.

But the ambassadors of Simon were there received with much more respect. For as soon as Jonathan was dead, and Simon admitted to be his successor, both in the high priesthood and government of the land, he sent ambassadors, to notify it to the Romans and other allies. The Romans [n] were very sorry at the death of Jonathan; but when they heard that Simon was in his place, this was well pleasing to them. And therefore, when his ambassadors approached Rome, they sent out [o] to meet them, and received them with honour, [p] and readily renewed all their former leagues made with his predecessors; which being written in tables of brass, were carried to Jerusalem, and there read before all the people. And the same ambassadors, on their return from Rome, [q] went also to the Lacedemonians, and other allies of the Jews, and, in the name of Simon, renewed in like manner all former leagues with them, and returned with authentic instruments hereof to Jerusalem.

[r] Sarpedon, one of Demetrius' captains, coming into Phœnicia with an army, a battle happened between him and the forces which Tryphon had in those parts. This battle was fought near the walls of Ptolemais, in which Sarpedon being vanquished, he retreated into the inland country. But the Tryphonians, on their return from the pursuit, marching back to Ptolemais, on the beach of the sea, a sudden tide coming upon them, overwhelmed a great number of their men, and then going back again with as sudden an ebb, as it had come on with a flow, left the dead bodies on the strand, with a great quantity of fish mingled with them; whereon, Sarpedon's men again returning, took up the fish, and, by way of thanksgiving for them, and the destruction that had befallen the enemy, offered sacrifices to Neptune before the

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[n] 1 Maccab. xiv. 16, 17.
[o] 1 Maccab. xiv. 40. Gr. ἀπάντησιν.
[p] 1 Maccab. xiv. 18, 19. [q] 1 Maccab. xiv. 20—23.
[r] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 758. Athenæus, lib. 8. p. 333.

very gates of Ptolemais, in the same place where the battle had been before fought.

But, while Demetrius' soldiers were thus fighting for him in the field [s] he lay idle at Laodicea, glutting himself with all the vile pleasures of luxury and lewdness, without being made wiser by his calamities, or seeming at all to be sensible of them. However Tryphon having given sufficient reason for the Jews utterly to renounce him and his party, Simon [t] sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him about terms of peace and alliance; who having obtained from that prince a grant of confirmation of the high priesthood and principality to Simon, and a release of all taxes, tolls, and tributes, with an oblivion of all past acts of hostility, on the condition of the Jews joining with him against Tryphon, they returned to Jerusalem with letters under the royal signature, containing the same; which being accepted of and confirmed by all the people of the Jews, by virtue hereof Simon was made sovereign prince of the Jews, and the land freed from all foreign yoke. And therefore the Jews from this time, instead of dating their instruments and contracts by the years of the Syrian kings, as they had hitherto done, thenceforth dated them by the years of Simon and his successors.

Simon having thus obtained the independent sovereignty of the land, [u] made a progress through it to see to and provide for its security, repairing the fortifications in those cities and places where they were decayed, and making new ones in those where they were wanting, and this he especially did at Bethsura and Joppa. The former he made a place of arms, and put a strong garrison in it; and the latter being the nearest maritime town to Jerusalem, though at the distance of 40 miles from it, [x] he made it the sea-port to that city, and all Judea, it being the fittest place on all that coast for the carrying on of their trade through it to all the isles and countries in the Mediterranean; and it served them for this purpose for many ages after, as it still doth the inhabitants of that country even to this day, and it is there still known by the same name.

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[s] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 353.

[t] 1 Maccab. xiii. 21—42. & c. xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

[u] 1 Maccab. xiii. 33. & c. xiv. 7. 33.

[x] 1 Maccab. xiv. 5—34.

And whereas [y] Gazara, on the death of Jonathan, had revolted, he laid siege to the place; and, having reduced it, he cast out all the Heathen out of the city, and planted it wholly with Jews; and, having well fortified it, built an house there for himself, wherein he might lodge when his affairs should call him to that place.

The Heathen in the fortress at Jerusalem since Jonathan's building of the wall against them, which did cut them off from all communication with the rest of the city, being much distressed for want of provisions and all other necessaries, [z] were thereby at length brought to that necessity as forced them to surrender the place and depart the land; whereon Simon took possession of it, and thereby delivered Israel from a great grievance, that garrison having been a terrible thorn in their side ever since Antiochus Epiphanes first placed it there. And, that they might no more in like manner be annoyed from that place, [a] Simon demolished not only the fortress, but also the hill itself on which it stood; for it overtopping, and thereby commanding the mountain of the temple, if any other enemy should at any time after seize that place, they might from thence cause them the same mischief. And therefore, Simon having called the people together, and fully laid before them what they had suffered from that place, and what they might again suffer, should it, at any time after, again fall into the hands of an enemy, proposed to them the digging down of the mountain

Anno 142. Simon 2.

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[y] 1 Maccab. xiii. 43—48. Here in the Greek original, as well as our English version, it is Gaza (ver. 43.;) but, beyond all doubt, it is here put for Gazara by the error of transcribers; for the taking of Gazara is spoken of among the good works of Simon, 1 Maccab. xiv. 7—34. and also by Josephus, lib. 13. c. 11. but nothing is said in either of these histories of Simon's taking Gaza. And Gazara is often mentioned in them, as in the hands of Simon, but Gaza never (except alone in this place.) This city of Gazara is the same with the ancient Gezer so often mentioned in the scriptures of the Old Testament. And here, most likely, it was that Simon built him an house, 1 Mac. xiii. 48. and that this was the house wherein John his son dwelt, when he sent him to reside at Gazara, and there command his forces in those parts. Strabo calls this city Gadaris, and placeth it near Azotus, (as the author of the first book of the Maccabees doth, xiv. 34.) and saith of it, that the Jews had taken possession of it, lib. 16. p. 759.

[z] 1 Maccab. xiii. 49—52. [a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

itself to the level of the mountain of the temple, that so there might not be left a possibility of any more annoying the temple from that place; which they all readily consenting to, immediately did set about the work, and carried it on with great assiduity, all taking their turns in it, till at length, after three years constant labour employed herein, they fully finished all that was intended. And, while this was a-doing, [b] Simon new fortified the mountain of the temple, repairing the outer wall, and making it stronger than it was before, and provided habitations within it, both for himself and company; and there he afterwards dwelt: and most likely his house stood where the castle Antonia was afterwards built.

Simon [c] finding his son John, afterwards called Hyrcanus, to be a valiant man and very expert in all military affairs, he made him general of all the forces of Judea, and sent him to live at Gazara, that being a border which most wanted his presence; and Joppa being in the neighbourhood, perchance to be nigh that place, for the supervising of those works that were there carrying on by his order, for the making of it a convenient sea-port for all Judea, might be another reason why he appointed him to have his residence in that place.

Demetrius was at length roused up from his sloth, by many messages out of the East inviting him thither: for [d] the Parthians, having now over-run in a manner all the East, and subjugated to them all the countries of Asia, from the river Indus to the Euphrates, those that were of the Macedonian race in those countries, not bearing this usurpation, nor that pride and insolence with which those new masters ruled over them, earnestly invited Demetrius by repeated embassies to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the Parthians, and such assistance of forces against them as should enable him absolutely to suppress those usurpers, and recover again all the provinces of the East to his empire. With which hopes, Demetrius, being excited to undertake this expedition, marched over the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greater part of Syria behind him: for he reckoned, that, after he should have made himself master of the East, he should have such an augmentation of power as would best enable him to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he came eastward, the Elymæans, the

Anno 141. Simon 3.

[b] 1 Maccab. xiii. 53. [c] 1 Maccab. xiii. 53.

[d] Justin. lib. 36. c. 1. & lib. 38. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. & c. 12. Orosius, lib. 5, c. 4.

Persians, and the Bactrians, declared for him; and, by their assistance, he overthrew the Parthians in many conflicts. But at last, under the shew of a treaty of peace, being drawn into a snare, he was taken prisoner, and all his army cut in pieces; and hereby the Parthian empire became established with that greatness of power and firmness of stability, as to make it last for several ages after, to the terror of all within their reach, even to the rivalling of the Romans themselves in the strength of their arms, and the prowess and fame of their military exploits.

The king that reigned in Parthia at this time was [c] Mithridates, the son of Priapatius, a very valiant and wise prince. How Arsaces first founded the kingdom of the Parthians, and how Arsaces his son after settled and established it by a treaty of peace with *Antiochus the Great*, hath been [f] already related. The son and successor of the second Arsaces, [g] was Priapatius, called also Arsaces (that being the family name of all the kings of this race.) He having reigned fifteen years, left the crown, at his death, to [g] Phrahates his eldest son; after whose death succeeded this [g] Mithridates his brother, the Parthian king, into whose hands Demetrius fell. He was therefore from Arsaces, the first founder of that kingdom, the fourth in descent, and the fifth in succession of reigning, and not the sixth, [h] as Orosius saith. He having [i] subdued the Medes, the Elymæans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, extended his dominions into India, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests; and, having vanquished Demetrius, [k] finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia also to his empire; so that thenceforth he had Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire.

After Mithridates had thus gotten Demetrius into his power, [l] he carried him round the revolted provinces, and exposed him every where to their view, that they, by seeing the prince whom they confided in reduced to this ignominious and low condition, might be the easier brought to submit again to their former yoke. But, when this show was over, he al-

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[c] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5, & 6. Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 359, 360.

[f] Part II. book 2. under the year 208.

[g] Justin. lib. 41. c. 5. [h] Lib. 5. c. 4.

[i] Diodor. Sic. ibid. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 4.

[k] Orosius, ibid. Justin. lib. 41. c. 6.

[l] Justin. lib. 36. c. 1.

lowed him a maintenance suitable to the state of a king, [m] and, sending him into Hyrcania to reside, gave him Rhodaguna, one of his daughters, in marriage. However, he kept him still in captivity, though with as much freedom as was consistent with a captive state, and, at his death, left him in this condition [n] to Phrahates his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom. It is particularly related of Mithridates, [o] that, having conquered several nations, he gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in their constitutions, and then, out of the whole collection, made a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire.

In [p] a general congregation of the priests and elders, and all the people of the Jews assembled together at Jerusalem, it was agreed, by the unanimous consent of all present, that the supreme government of the nation, as well as the high-priesthood, should be conferred on Simon, and settled both upon him and his posterity after him. This had before been personally settled on Simon by the grant of Demetrius the Syrian king, and the same was now granted also by the whole nation of the Jews, and the settlement made, not only on the person of Simon, but upon him and his descendants for ever. And a public act or instrument in writing was made hereof, wherein it being recited, what good deeds Simon and his family had done for the people of the Jews, they, in acknowledgement hereof, constituted him their prince, as well as their high priest, and granted both dignities to him and his posterity after him; a copy of which act they ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and hung up in the sanctuary, and laid up the original in the sacred archives belonging to the treasury of the temple. And from that time Simon took on him the state, style, and authority of prince as well as high priest of the Jews, and all public acts thenceforth went in his name. And after him both these dignities descended together to his posterity, and continued among them thus united together for several descents, they being at the same time sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation. This act bore date on the 18th day of the month Elul (which was the 6th of their months,) in the 172d year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, and the third of Simon's pontificate.

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[m] Justin. ibid. & lib. 38. c. 9.
[n] Justin. lib. 38. c. 9. & lib. 42. c. 1.
[o] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 361.
[p] 1 Maccabees xiv. 26—49.

At this time, the Jews tell us, [q] Simeon Ben Shetach, and Jehudah Ben Tabbai, were the rectors and chief teachers of the divinity school at Jerusalem; the first of which, they say, was president, and the other vice-president of the sanhedrim. Of these several fables are told in the Talmud, which are not worth troubling the reader with.

Anno 140. Simon 4.

Queen Cleopatra, on her husband's captivity in Parthia, [r] shut up herself with her children in Seleucia on the Orontes, and there many of Tryphon's soldiers revolted to her. For, being naturally of a brutish and cruel temper, he had artfully concealed this, under the cloke of affability and good temper, as long as he was courting the favour of the people, for the carrying on his ambitious designs. But, when he was possessed of the crown, and Demetrius made a prisoner in Parthia, he cast off all guard and restraint, which till then he had put upon his inclinations, and let himself loose to his own natural disposition, which being such as many about him could not bear, this caused many desertions from him to Cleopatra. But still her party alone was not strong enough to support her; and therefore, fearing lest the people of Seleucia would rather give her up to Tryphon than suffer a siege for her sake, she [s] sent to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, to join his interest with hers, offering him the crown and herself in marriage on this condition: for, hearing of the marriage of Demetrius with Rhodaguna in Parthia, and being greatly provoked thereby, [t] she cast off all regard for him, and resolved to seek a new interest for her support, by disposing of herself in marriage elsewhere; and, not seeing where she could do this more to her advantage than to the next heir of the crown, she therefore sent for him, and made him her husband.

This Antiochus was [u] second son to Demetrius Soter, and, on the wars which that prince had with Alexander Balas, was sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, the now captive king of Syria, to be there kept out of harm's way, as hath been already related. He seems to have still continued in those parts after his brother's recovering the crown. For [x]

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[q] Juchasin Shalsheleth Haccabala. Zemach David.

[r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13 c. 12.

[s] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 12. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 36. c. 1.

[t] Appian. ibid.

[u] Justin. ibid. Appianus in Syriacis.

[x] Appianus, ibid.

he is said to have been at Rhodes when Demetrius was taken prisoner; and therefore, no doubt, in that place it was that Cleopatra's message found him. For he having, on the receiving of it, accepted the offer, and thereon taken upon him the style and title of king of Syria, [y] he wrote a letter to Simon, dated from the Isles of the sea, and most likely this was from Rhodes, since he is said to have been there so lately before as at the time of the first news of his brother's captivity.

The substance of his letter to Simon was [z] to complain of the unjust usurpation of Tryphon, and to let him know, that he was preparing to come into Syria, to take vengeance of that usurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his interest, makes him many grants, and promiseth him many more, when he should be fully settled in the throne, as may be seen in that letter, 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.

And accordingly, in the beginning of the next year, [a] he landed in Syria, with an army of mercenaries whom he had hired in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles; and, having married Cleopatra, joined her forces to his own, and marched against Tryphon. Whereon [b] most of the usurper's forces, now weary of his tyranny, went over from him to Antiochus, which augmented his army to the number of 120,000 foot and 8000 horse. This being a power Tryphon could not keep the field against, he retreated to Dora, a city near Ptolemais in Phœnicia, where, being besieged by Antiochus, with all his forces, both by sea and land, and finding the place not capable of long holding out against so great a power, he made his escape by sea to Orthosia, another maritime town in Phœnicia; from whence flying to Apamia, his own native city, he was there taken and put to death. And hereby an end being put to his usurpation, Antiochus became fully possessed of his father's throne, and sat in it nine years. He [c] being much given to hunting, had the name of Sidetes (*i. e.* the hunter) given unto him, from Zidah, a word of that signification in the Syriac language.

Anno 139. Simon 5.

Simon being instated in the sovereign command of Judea by the general consent of all that nation, in the manner as

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[y] 1 Maccab. xv. 1. [z] 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.
[a] 1 Maccab. xv. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 12.
[b] 1 Maccab. xv. 11—14. Joseph. ibid. Appianus in Syriacis.
[c] Plutarch. in Problem.

above related, thought it would be of great advantage to him, for his firmer establishment in it, to get himself acknowledged what they had made him by the Romans, and to have all their former leagues and alliances renewed with him, under the style and title which he then bore of high priest and prince of the Jews. And [d] therefore he sent another embassy to them for this purpose, with a present of a large shield of gold, weighing 1000 minæ, which, according to the lowest computation of an Attic mina, amounted to the value of 50,000 l. of our present Sterling money. Both the present and embassy were very acceptable to the senate; and therefore they not only renewed their league and alliance with Simon and his people, in the manner he desired, but also ordered, that Lucius Cornelius Piso, one of the consuls, should write letters to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius king of Syria, and Mithridates king of Parthia, and to all the cities and states of Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles that were in alliance with them, to let them know, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that therefore they should not attempt any thing to their damage, or protect any traitors or fugitives of that nation against them, but should deliver up to Simon, the high priest and prince of the Jews, all such traitors and fugitives as should flee unto them, whenever demanded by him.

The letters to the Syrian king were directed to Demetrius, though then a prisoner in Parthia, because neither Tryphon nor Antiochus Sidetes, who were then contending for the crown at the time when these letters were written, were either of them acknowledged as king by the Romans. And therefore, when these letters were brought into Syria, they were of no benefit to Simon or the Jews: for Antiochus, having no regard to them, as not being written to him, as soon as he had driven Tryphon out of the field, took the first opportunity to quarrel with Simon. For although Simon [e] sent to Antiochus, while he was besieging Tryphon at Dora, 2000 chosen men for his assistance, with gold, and silver, and arms, and other instruments and engines of war, he would not receive any of them, but, rescinding all that he had formerly granted or promised, sent Athenobius, one of his friends, to him, to demand the restoration of Gazara, Joppa, and the fortress of Jerusalem, with several other places then held by

[d] 1 Maccab. xiv. 24. & xv. 25. [e] 1 Maccab. xv. 26—32.

Simon, which he claimed as belonging to the kingdom of Syria, or else 500 talents in lieu of them, and 500 talents more for the damages that were done by the Jews within the borders of his other dominions. On [f] Athenobius' coming to Jerusalem with this message, Simon's answer was, that for Gazara and Joppa he was content to pay the king 100 talents; but as to all the rest, he told him, it was the inheritance of their forefathers, which they had for a time been wrongfully deprived of, and that, having now again gotten possession of it, they were resolved to keep it. This answer very much angering Athenobius, he without replying any thing thereto, returned in great wrath to the king, and made report to him of what Simon had said, and also of what he had seen of the pomp and grandeur in which he lived. For, being now sovereign prince of the Jews, he was served in much plate of gold and silver, had many attendants, and in all things else appeared in the same manner of splendor and glory as other princes did. At all which the king being very much offended, resolved on a war against him; and therefore, [g] having made Cendebæus, one of his nobles, captain and governor of the sea coasts of Palestine, he sent him with one part of his army to fight against Simon, and, in the mean time, he, with the other, pursued after Tryphon, till he had taken and slain him in the manner as I have mentioned.

Cendebæus forthwith [h] marched with his forces into the parts near Jamnia and Joppa, and having there, according to the orders which he had received from the king, fortified Kedron, he placed a strong party of his army in it, and from thence began to make inroads upon the Jews, and to kill and plunder, and commit all manner of hostilities in their land. Whereon [i] John, the son of Simon, who lived at Gazara in the neighbourhood, went from thence to Jerusalem to acquaint his father of these particulars. By which Simon perceiving, that the intention of Antiochus was to make war upon him, got together an army of 20,000 foot, with a proportionable number of horse. And because he himself being now broken with age, could no more bear the fatigues of war, he committed the command of them to Judas and John his sons, and sent them forth to fight the enemy. The first night after

[f] 1 Maccab. xv. 32—36.
[g] 1 Maccab. xv. 38, 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 13.
[h] 1 Maccab. xvi. 40, 41. Joseph. ibid.
[i] 1 Maccab. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. ibid.

they took the field, they encamped at Modin, the original seat of their family, and from thence, the next day after, marched out against Cendebæus. This soon brought it to a battle between them; in which Cendebæus being overthrown, lost 2000 of his men, and the rest fled, part to Kedron and part to other strong holds near the field of battle, and part to Azotus. Judas being wounded in the fight, was forced to stay behind. But John followed the pursuit till he came to Azotus, and, having there taken their fortresses and towers of defence, burned them with fire. After this, the two brothers, having driven the Syrians out of those parts, and settled all matters there in quiet, returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Anno 138. Simon 6.

Ptolemy Physcon had now reigned in Egypt seven years, during all which time we find nothing else recorded of him but his monstrous vices and his detestable cruelties, [k] scarce any other prince having been more brutal in lusts, or more barbarous and bloody in the government of his people. And, besides, in all his other conduct, he appeared very despicable and foolish, usually both doing and saying very childish and ridiculous things in public as well as in private: whereby he incurred, to a great degree, the contempt, as well as the hatred and detestation of his people. And that he kept the crown upon his head, under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects, was [l] wholly owing to Hierax his chief minister. He was by birth of Antioch, and the same who, in the reign of Alexander Balas, had, in joint commission with Diodotus (afterwards called Tryphon,) the government of that city committed to him. On the turn of affairs that afterwards happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, and there falling into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, became the chief commander of his armies, and the chief manager of all his other affairs; and, being a very valiant and wise man, he, by taking care of well paying the soldiers, and balancing, by his good and wise ministration, the mal-administration of his master, and remedying and preventing as many of them as he was able, had hitherto the success to keep all things quiet in that kingdom.

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[k] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 361. Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 1, & 2.

[l] Diodorus Siculus, ibid.

This year, as great a monster of cruelty began his reign at Pergamus, [m] Attalus Philometor, the son of Eumenes, who succeeded Attalus his uncle in that kingdom. He being a minor at the death of his father, the tuition of him, with the crown, was left to Attalus the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up the pupil, but, on his death, which happened this year, [n] left the crown to him, passing by the children which he had of his own. For he looked on the crown as left him by his brother, to be no more than a *depositum* entrusted with him for his nephew; and therefore he accordingly restored it to him in the next succession, which is a procedure very rarely practised, where a crown is the thing in possession. Another instance of such a restoration is scarce any where else to be found in history; princes being usually no less solicitous to preserve their crowns to their posterity, than to themselves. But this turned to the great plague and calamity of the whole kingdom; for this Attalus Philometor, being more than half a madman, managed his government accordingly in a very wild, irrational, and pernicious manner. For he [o] had scarce been warm in his throne, ere he stained it all over with the blood of his nearest relations, and other the best friends of his family; putting to death most of those who, with the greatest fidelity, had served his father and his uncle; pretending against some of them, that they had by evil arts caused the death of Stratonice his mother, who deceased an old woman; and against others, that they caused, by the like evil arts, the death of Berenice, his wife, who died of an incurable disease which she happened to fall into. And others he put to death upon vain and groundless suspicions, cutting off with them their wives and children, and all their whole families. [p] These executions he did by the hands of his mercenaries, whom he had hired out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations, they only being fit instruments for such bloody and abominable work. After he had thus, in a wild and mad fury, cut off the best men in his kingdom, [q] he withdrew from the public view, appearing no more abroad among the people, nor was he any more seen at home, enter-

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[m] Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. Justin. lib. 36. c. 4.
[n] Plutarchus in libro περὶ Φιλαδελφίας et in Apotheg.
[o] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 370.
[p] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 370.
[q] Justin. lib. 36. c. 4.

taining himself either in banquets, or public repasts, but putting on a sordid apparel, and letting his beard grow to a great length, without trimming it, behaved himself in the same manner as those used to do who were under arraignment for some great crime, acting hereby as if he had acknowledged himself guilty of all the villany he had done.

And, going on after this rate into other extravagancies, [r] he neglected all the affairs of the government, and betook himself to his garden, there digging the ground himself, and sowing it with all manner of poisonous and unwholesome herbs, as well as with those that were wholesome, he infected the wholesome with the juices of the poisonous, and then sent them as especial presents to his friends. And thus he wore out in wild and cruel extravagancies the remainder of his reign; the best recommendation of which was, that it was very short; for it ended after five years time in his death, which then happened in the manner as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Antiochus Sidetes, after having vanquished Tryphon, and wholly broken and brought under all that were of his party, did next [s] betake himself to recover to the Syrian empire, all such cities and places as had taken the advantage of the late distractions that followed upon his father's death, to revolt from it. And, having gained full success herein, he settled all things within the kingdom of Syria again, upon the same bottom on which they were before these distractions begun.

Anno 137. Simon 7.

But in Egypt all things went worse and worse. For, whether it were that Hierax [t] was dead, or else, that the madness of the prince overbore all the wisdom and prudence of the chief minister, we hear nothing of him from this time, but his barbarous cruelties, and monstrous mismanagements in all his conduct. [u] Most of those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown on his brother's decease, and after that to support him in it, he

Anno 136. Simon 8.

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[r] Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio, where the English translator, taking upon him very unskilfully to mend the Greek original, hath put Ptolemy Philometor instead of Attalus Philometor.

[s] Justin. lib. 36. c. 1.

[t] Athenæus tells us, that Physcon did put Hierax to death, lib. 6. p. 252. but the time of his death is not said.

[u] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8. Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184.

causelessly put to death. Most of those who had the favour of Philometor his brother, or had been employed in his service, he either slew or drove into banishment; and, by his foreign mercenaries, whom he let loose to commit all manner of murders and rapines as they pleased, he oppressed and terrified the Alexandrians to so great a degree, that most of them fled into other countries to avoid his cruelty, and left their city in a manner desolate. That therefore he might not reign over empty houses without inhabitants, he, by his proclamations dispersed over the neighbouring countries, invited all strangers to come thither to repeople the place. Whereon great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those that were fled; and, admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of the former citizens, he, by this means, again replenished the city.

[x] There being, among those that fled out of Egypt on this occasion, many grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters and professors of ingenious arts and sciences; this banishment of theirs became the means of reviving learning again in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles, and in all other places where they went. The wars which followed after the death of Alexander, among those that succeeded him, had, in a manner, extinguished learning in all those parts; and it would have gone nigh to have been utterly lost amidst the calamities of those times, but that it found a support under the patronage of the Ptolemys at Alexandria. For the first Ptolemy having there erected a museum or college, for the maintenance and encouragement of learned men, and also a great library for their use (of both which I have already spoken,) this drew most of the learned men of Greece thither. And, the second and third Ptolemy having followed herein the same steps of their predecessor, Alexandria became the place where the liberal arts and sciences, and all other parts of learning, were preserved, and flourished in those ages, when they were almost dropped every where else; and most of its inhabitants were bred up in the knowledge of some or other of them. And hereby it came to pass, that, when they were driven into foreign parts, by the cruelty and oppression of the wicked tyrant I have mentioned, being qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching, each in the places where they came, the particular professions they were skilled in; they

[x] Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184.

accordingly betook themselves hereto, and erected schools for this purpose, in all the countries above mentioned, through which they were dispersed; and they being, by reason of their poverty, content to teach for a small hire, this drew great numbers of scholars to them, and by this means, all the several branches of learning became again revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in these latter ages in the western, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. For, till then, most of the learning of the West was in school-divinity, and the canon-law: and, although the former of these was built more upon Aristotle than the holy scriptures, yet they had nothing of Aristotle in those days, but in a translation at the third hand. The Saracens had translated the works of that philosopher into Arabic, and from thence those Christians of the Latin church, who learned philosophy from the Saracens in Spain, translated them into Latin. And this was the only text of that Author, on which, during the reign of the schoolmen, all their comments on him were made. And yet upon no better a foundation are some of those dicisions in divinity built, which the Romanists hold as infallible, than what they have thus borrowed from an Heathen philosopher, handed to them in a translation made by the disciples of Mahomet. But, when Constantinople was taken by the king of the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1453, and the learned men who dwelt there, and in other parts of Greece, fearing the cruelty and the barbarity of the Turks, fled into Italy, they brought thither with them their books and their learning; and there, first under the patronage of the princes of that country (especially of Lorenzo de Medices, the first founder of the greatness of his family,) propagated both. And this gave the rise to all that learning in these western parts, which hath ever since grown and flourished in them.

At the same time that foreigners were flocking to Alexandria for the repeopling of that city, [y] there came thither Publius Scipio Africanus junior, Spurius Mummius and L. Metellus, in an embassy from the Romans. It was the usage of that people, often to send out embassies to inspect the affairs of their allies, and to make up and compose what differences they should find among them; and for this purpose, this fa-

[y] Justin. lib. 28. c. 8. Cicero in Somnio Scipionis, c. 2. Athenæus, lib. 6. p. 273. et. lib. 12. p. 549. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 3. § 13. Diodor. Sic. legat. 32.

mous embassy, consisting of three of the most eminent men of Rome, was at this time sent from thence. Their commission was to pass through Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, to see and observe how the affairs of each kingdom and state in those countries stood, and to take an account how the leagues they had made with the Romans were kept and observed; and to set all things at rights, that they should find any where amiss among them. And this trust they every where discharged so honourably and justly, and so much to the benefit and advantage of those they were sent to, in regulating their disorders, and adjusting all differences which they found among them; that they were no sooner returned to Rome, [z] but ambassadors followed them from all places where they had been, to thank the senate for sending such honourable persons to them, and for the great benefits they had received from them. The first place which they came to in the discharge of their commission being Alexandria in Egypt, they were there received by the king in great state. But they made their entrance thither with so little, [a] that Scipio, who was then the greatest man in Rome, had no more than one friend, Panætius the philosopher, and five servants in his retinue. And, although they were, during their stay there, entertained with all the varieties of the most sumptuous fare, yet they [b] would touch nothing more of it than what was useful, in the most temperate manner, for the necessary support of nature, despising all the rest, as that which corrupted the mind as well as the body, and bred vicious humours in both. Such was the moderation and temperance of the Romans at this time, and hereby it was that they at length advanced their state to so great an height: and in this height would they have still continued, could they still have retained the same virtues. But, when their prosperity, and the great wealth obtained thereby, became the occasion that they degenerated into luxury and corruption of manners, they drew decay and ruin as fast upon them as they had before victory and prosperity, till at length they were undone by it. So that the poet said justly of them,

* ——— ——— *Savior armis*
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

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[z] Diodorus, ibid. [b] Diodor. Sic. legat. 32.
[a] Athenæus, lib. 6. p. 273.
* Luxury came on more cruel than our arms,
And did revenge the vanquish'd world with its charms.
Juv. Sat. 6. ver. 29.

When the ambassadors had taken a full view of Alexandria, and the state of affairs in that city, [c] they sailed up the Nile to see Memphis and other parts of Egypt; whereby having thoroughly informed themselves of the [d] great number of cities, and the vast multitude of inhabitants that were in that country, and also of the strength of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the many other excellencies and advantages of it, they observed it to be a country that wanted nothing for its being made a very potent and formidable kingdom, but a prince of capacity and application sufficient to form it thereto. And therefore, no doubt, it was to their great satisfaction that they found the present king thoroughly destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking. For [e] nothing could appear more despicable, than he did to them in every interview they had with him. Of his cruelty, barbarity, luxury, and other vile and vicious dispositions which he was addicted to, I have in part already spoken, and there will be occasions hereafter to give more instances of them. And the deformities of his body were no less than those of his soul. For [f] he was of a most deformed countenance, of a short stature, and such a monstrous and prominent belly therewith, as no man was able to encompass with both his arms; so that, by reason of this load of flesh, acquired by his luxury, he was so unwieldy, that he never stepped abroad without a staff to lean on. And over this vile carcase he wore a garment [g] so thin and transparent, that there were seen through it, not only all the deformities of his body, but also those parts which it is one of the main ends of garments modestly to cover and conceal. From this deformed monster the ambassadors passed over to Cyprus, and from thence proceeded to execute their commission in all the other countries to which they were sent.

In the month of Shebat (which was in the latter end of the Jewish year, and in the beginning of the Julian,) Anno 135. John Hyrcanus I. [h] Simon, making a progress through the cities of Judah, to take care for the well ordering of all things in them, came to Jericho, having then

[c] Diodorus, ibid.

[d] Egypt, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had n. 33,339 cities, Theocrit. Idyl. 17.

[e] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8. [f] Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 549.

[g] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8.

[h] 1 Maccab. xvi. 14—22. Josephus, lib. 13. c. 14.

two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias, there in company with him, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who had married one of his daughters, being governor of the place under him, invited him to the castle which he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided for them. Simon and his sons, suspecting no evil from so near a relation, accepted of the invitation, and went thither. But the perfidious wretch, having laid a design for the usurping of the government of Judea to himself, and concerted the matter with Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, for the accomplishing of it, wickedly plotted the destruction of Simon and his sons; and therefore, having hid men in the castle, where the entertainment was made, when his guests had well drunk he brought forth these murderers upon them, and assassinated them all three, while they were sitting at his banquet, and all those that attended upon them; and, thinking immediately hereupon to make himself master of the whole land, sent a party to Gazara, where John resided, to slay him also; and wrote letters to the commanders of the army that had their station in those parts, to come over to him, proffering them gold and silver, and other rewards, to draw them into his designs. But John, having received notice of what had been done at Jericho, before this party could reach Gazara, he was there provided for them; and therefore fell on them, and cut them all off, as soon as they approached the place: and then, hastening to Jerusalem, secured that city, and the mountain of the temple, against those whom the traitor had sent to seize both. And, being thereupon declared high priest and prince of the Jews, in the place of his father Simon, he took care every where to provide for the security of the country, and the peace of all those that dwelt in it. Whereon Ptolemy, being defeated of all those plots which he had laid for the compassing of his designs, had nothing now left to do, but to send to Antiochus to come with an army for the accomplishing of them by open force; without which being no longer able to support himself against John in Judea, he fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotyla, who was then tyrant of Philadelphia, and there waited till Antiochus should arrive. What became of him afterwards is uncertain. For, although Antiochus came at his call into Judea, and a bitter war thereon ensued, yet, after his flight to Zeno, no more mention is made of him. Although the treason might be acceptable enough to that king, because of the fair prospect that was

given him, by the advantage of it, again to recover Judea to his crown, yet he could not but abhor such an execrable traitor, and perchance dealt with him according to what his wickedness deserved. But here ending the history of the Maccabees, as contained in the apocryphal books of scripture known by that name, I shall here also end this fourth book of my present work.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK V.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, king of Syria, [a] having received from Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, the account which he had sent him of the death of Simon and his sons, made haste to take the advantage of it, for the reducing of Judea again under the Syrian empire; and therefore forthwith marched thitherward with a great army, and having over-run the country, and driven Hyrcanus out of the field, shut him up and all his forces with him in Jerusalem, and there besieged him with his whole army divided into seven camps, whereby he inclosed him all round; and, to do this the more effectually, he caused two large and deep ditches to be drawn round the city, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation: so that, by reason hereof, none could come out from the besieged to make their escape, or any get into them, to bring them relief. And therefore, when Hyrcanus, to rid himself of unprofitable mouths which consumed the stores of the besieged, without

Anno 135. John Hyrcanus 1.

[a] 1 Maccab. xvi. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16.

helping them in the defence of the place, put all such as were useless for the wars out of the city; they could not pass the ditch that inclosed them, but were pent up between that and the walls of the city, and were there forced to abide; till at length Hyrcanus found it necessary, for the saving of them from perishing by famine, to receive them in again. This siege continued till about the time of the beginning of autumn; the besiegers all this while daily making their assaults, and the besieged as valiantly defending themselves against them, always repulsing the enemy, and often making sallies upon them, and, in these sallies, sometimes burning their engines, and destroying their works; and thus it went on till the time of the Jews' feast of tabernacles, which was always held in the middle of the first autumnal moon. On the approach of that holy time, Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, to pray a truce during the festival; which he not only readily granted, but also sent beasts, and other things necessary for the sacrifices then to be offered; which giving Hyrcanus an instance of the equity and benignity, as well as of the piety of that prince, this encouraged him to send to him again for terms of peace; which message being complied with, a treaty thereon commenced, in which Hyrcanus having yielded, that the besieged should deliver up their arms, that Jerusalem should be dismantled, and that tribute should be paid the king for Joppa, and the other towns held by the Jews out of Judea, peace was made upon these terms. It was demanded also by Antiochus, that the fortress at Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and a garrison again received into it; but this Hyrcanus would not consent to, remembering the damage and mischief which the Jews had received from the former garrison in that place; but rather chose to pay the king 500 talents to buy it off. Whereon such of those terms as were capable of an immediate execution being accordingly executed, and hostages given for the performance of the rest, (one of which was a brother of Hyrcanus,) the siege was raised, and peace again restored to the whole land. This was done in the ninth month after the death of Simon.

When Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus for peace, [b] he was brought almost to the last extremity, through want of provisions, all the stores of the city being in a manner spent exhausted; which being well known in the camp of the be-

[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16. Diodor. Sic. lib. 34. eclog. 1. p. 901. & apud Photium in Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 1150.

siegers, those that were about Antiochus pressed him hard to make use of this opportunity for the destroying and utterly extirpating the whole nation of the Jews. They urged against them, that they had been driven out of Egypt as an impious people hated by God and man; that they treated all mankind besides themselves as enemies, refusing communication with all, excepting those of their own sect, neither eating, nor drinking, nor freely conversing with any other, nor worshipping any of the same gods with them, but using laws, customs, and a religion quite different from all other nations; and that therefore they deserved that all other nations should treat them with the same aversion and hatred, and cut them all off and destroy them, as declared enemies to all mankind. and [c] Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, tells us, that it was wholly owing to the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, that the whole nation of the Jews were not at this time totally cut off, and utterly destroyed, but had peace granted unto them upon the terms above mentioned.

Of the 500 talents which, by the terms of this peace, were to be paid to Antiochus, 300 were laid down in present, [d] for the payment of the other 200, time was allowed. Josephus tells us, [e] that Hyrcanus, to find money for this and other occasions of the government, broke up the sepulchre of David, and took from thence 3000 talents; and the like he afterwards [e] tells us of Herod, as if he also had robbed the same sepulchre, and taken great treasures from it: but both these stories are very improbable. David had been now dead near 900 years; and what is told of this matter, supposeth his treasure to have been buried up with him all this time; it supposeth, that as often as the city of Jerusalem, the palace, and the temple, had, during the reigns of the kings of Judah, been plundered of all their wealth and treasure by prevailing enemies, (as they [f] had often been;) this dead stock still remained safe from all rifle or violation; it supposeth, that, as often as those kings were forced [g] to take all the treasure that could be found in the house of the Lord, as well as in their

[c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16. Diodor. Sic. lib. 34. eclog. 1. p. [illegible]. & apud Photium in Bibliotheca, cod. 244. p. 1150.
[d] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16.
[e] Joseph. ibid. lib. 16. c. 11.
[f] 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Kings xiv. 14. 2 Chron. xii. 9. 2 Chron. xxi. 17. 2 Chron. xxv. 24.
[g] 1 Kings xv. 18. 2 Kings xii. 18. 2 Chron. xvi. 2.

own, to relieve the exigencies of the state, they never meddled with this treasure in David's grave, there uselessly buried with the dead; it supposeth, that, when one of the worst of their kings plundered the temple of its sacred vessels, [h] and cut them in pieces, to melt them down into money for his common occasions; and when one of the best of them [i] was forced to cut off the gold with which the gates and pillars of the temple were overlaid, to buy off a destroying enemy, this useless treasure still continued unmeddled with in both these cases: nay, further, it supposeth, that, when [k] Nebuchadnezzar destroyed both the city and the temple of Jerusalem, and both thereon lay in rubbish a great many years, this treasure in David's sepulchre during all this time, did under this rubbish lie secure and untouched; and also, that, when [l] Antiochus Epiphanes destroyed this city, and robbed the temple of all he could find in it, still David's sepulchre, and the treasure buried in it, (though, while it was buried, it was wholly useless and unprofitable for the service either of God or man,) still escaped all manner of violation as in all former times, and was never touched nor meddled with, till Hyrcanus laid his hands upon it; all which suppositions seem utterly improbable, and beyond all belief. What the manner of the sepulchres of David and the kings of his lineage was, I have already [m] described. They were vaults cut out of a marble rock, one within another, where there was no earth to bury up or cover any hidden treasure, but whatsoever was there laid, must have lain open to the view of every one that entered into them. If there were any foundation of truth in this matter, I can only resolve it into this, that several rich men who feared Herod's rapacity, hid their treasures in those vaults, thinking that they would be there best secured from it; and that this crafty tyrant, having gotten notice of it, seized what was there deposited, as if it had been King David's treasure, and then trumped up this story of Hyrcanus to screen himself from censure, by the example of so good and great a man; but it is most likely, that both parts of the story are a mere fiction, picked up by Josephus without any

[h] 2 Kings xvi. 8—17. 2 Chron. xxviii. 21—24.
[i] 2 Kings xviii. 15, 16.
[k] 2 Kings xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Jer. xxxix. & lii.
[l] 1 Maccab. i. 2. 2 Maccab. v.
[m] Part I. Book 1.

ground of truth, as are also some other particulars in his history.

In [n] this first year of Hyrcanus, Matthias Aphlius, a priest of the course of Joarib, married a daughter of Jonathan, the late prince of the Jews, of whom was born Matthias Curtus; of this Matthias was born Josephus, who was the father of another Matthias, of whom was born Josephus the historian, in the first year of Caligula, the Roman emperor, which was the 37th of the vulgar æra from Christ's incarnation.

Scipio Africanus junior, going to the war of Numantium, in Spain, [o] Antiochus Sidetes sent thither to him very valuable and magnificent presents; which he received publicly while he was sitting on his tribunal, in the sight of the whole army, and ordered them to be delivered into the hands [p] of the questor, for the public charges of the war, it being the temper of the Romans at this time to do and receive all they could for the interest of the commonwealth, without taking or reserving any thing to themselves, but the honour of faithfully serving it to the utmost of their power; and as long as this temper lasted, they prospered in all their undertakings; but afterwards, when this public spirit became turned all into self-interest, and none served the public, but to serve themselves by plundering it, every thing then went backward with them as fast as it had gone forward with them before, till they were soon after swallowed up, first in tyranny, and afterwards in ruin. Anno 134. John Hyrcanus 2.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, [q] going on in his wild freaks, took a fancy of employing himself in the trade of a founder, and projecting to make a brazen monument for his mother; while he laboured in melting and working the brass in a hot summer's day, he contracted a fever of which he died on the seventh day after: whereby his people had the happiness of being delivered from an horrid tyrant. At his death he left a will, [r] whereby he made the Romans heirs of all his goods; by Anno 133. John Hyrcanus 3.

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[n] Joseph. in libro de vita sua. [o] Epit. Livii, lib. 57.

[p] That is, of the treasurer of the army; for every Roman general that went to any war, had always such a treasurer sent with him to manage the public charges of the war.

[q] Justin. lib. 36. c. 4.

[r] Plutarch. in Tibero Graccho. Justin. ibid. Epit. Livii, lib. 58. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 20. Videas etiam Epistolam Mithridates

virtue whereof, they seized his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it into the form of a province, [s] which was called the Proper Asia; but Aristonicus the next heir did not tamely submit hereto. He was the son of Eumenes, and the brother of Attalus, though by another mother; [t] by virtue whereof, claiming the crown as his inheritance, he got together an army, and took possession of it; and it cost the Romans the death of [u] one of their consuls, the loss of an army with him, and a four years war, before they could reduce him and his party, and thoroughly settle themselves in the possession of the country. And here ended the Pergamenian kingdom, which included the greatest part of Lesser Asia, after it had continued through the succession of six kings.

Anno 132. John Hyrcanus 4.

In [x] the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes the Second, alias Physcon, Jesus, the son of Sirach, a Jew of Jerusalem, coming into Egypt, and settling there, translated out of Hebrew into Greek, for the use of the Hellenistical Jews, the book of Jesus his grandfather, which is the same we now have among the apocryphal scriptures in our English Bible, by the name of Ecclesiasticus. The ancients call it Πανάρετον, that is, *the treasurer of all virtue*, as supposing it to contain maxims leading to every virtue. It was originally written in Hebrew, by Jesus the author of it, about the time that Onias, the second of that name, was

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Regis Ponti ad Arsacem Regem Parthiæ inter Fragmenta Salustii, lib. 4. in qua epistola vocat hoc testamentum simulatum & impium testamentum.

[s] The word Asia when put alone, unless otherwise determined by the context, signifieth one of the four quarters of the world. That part of it which lies between Mount Taurus on the east, and the Hellespont on the west, is called the *Lesser Asia*, and that part of the Lesser Asia which fell to the Romans by Attalus' will, was the *Proper Asia*.

[t] Justin. lib. 46. c. 4. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 20. Plutarch. in Q. Flaminio. Strabo, lib. 14. Appian in Mithridaticis & de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1. Epit. Livii, lib. 59. Eutrop. lib. 4.

[u] Lucinius Crassus was vanquished and slain in this war, and most of his army cut off with him. Florus et Livius, ibid.

[x] See the second prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus; where it is to be observed, that the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes the II. there mentioned, is to be reckoned from the 11th year of Philometor, when he was admitted to reign in copartnership with him.

high priest at Jerusalem, translated into Greek by Jesus, the son of Sirach, grandson to the author. The Hebrew original is now lost. It was extant in the time of Jerom; for [y] he tells us, that he had seen it under the title of *The Parables*, but the common name of it in Greek was, *The Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach.* At present, the title in our printed Greek copies is, *The Wisdom of Sirach*, which is an abbreviation made with great absurdity. For it ascribes the book to Sirach, who was neither the author nor the translator of it; and therefore could neither way have any relation to it. There is indeed a controversy whether Sirach was the father of Jesus the author of the book, or of Jesus the translator of it. The matter not being of any great moment, I am content to be concluded by the first prologue premised to the book in our English Bible, in which it is plainly asserted, that Jesus, the author of the book, was the grandfather, Sirach the son, and Jesus, the translator, the grandson; and therefore, according to this prologue it is the grandson, and not the grandfather, that was called Jesus the son of Sirach. And it seems most likely, that the conclusion of the book, chap. l. ver. 27—29.) are the words of the translator, and so also the prayer in the last chapter. For what is there said by the writer of it, [z] of the danger he was brought into of his life before the king on an unjust accusation, seems plainly to point to the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, whose cruelty inclined him to bring any one, and on the lightest occasion, into danger of his life, that came under his power; which could not be the case of the grandfather, who lived at Jerusalem three ages before, when there was no such tyranny in that place. I have above made mention of the first preface prefixed before this book, in the English version, this implies, that there was a second. This second preface was written by Jesus the grandson of the author, who translated the book into the Greek language. Who was the composer of the first is not known. It is taken out of the book, intitled, *Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ*, which is ascribed to Athanasius; and, if it be not his (as it is by many held that it is not,) yet it is most certainly a book of ancient composure, and as far as it is, so it carries authority with it, though the author be not certainly known. The Latin version of this book of Ecclesiasticus hath more in it than the Greek, several particulars being inserted into it which are not in the other.

[y] In Præfatione ad Libros Solomonis, & in Epist. 115.
[z] Chap. li. ver. 6.

They seem to have been interpolated by the first author of that version; but now the Hebrew being lost, the Greek, which hath been made from it by the grandson of the author, must stand for the original, and from that the English translation hath been made. The Jews have now a book among them, which they call the book of *Ben Sira*, *i. e.* the book of the son of Sira; and this book containing a collection of moral sayings, hence some [a] would have it, that this *Ben Sira*, or son of Sira, was the same with *Ben Sirach*, or the son of Sirach, and [b] his book the same with Ecclesiasticus; but whosoever shall compare the books will find, that there is no foundations for this opinion, except only in the similitude of the names of the authors of them.

Demetrius Nicator having been several years detained as a prisoner in Hyrcania by the Parthians, [c] Antiochus Sidetes his brother, under pretence of effecting his deliverance, marched with a powerful army into the East, against Phrahates the Parthian king. This army consisted of above 80,000 men, well appointed for the war. But [d] the instruments of luxury that accompanied them, as sutlers, cooks, pastry-men, confectioners, scullions, stage-players, musicians, whores, &c. were near four times their number, for they are said to have amounted to [e] 300,000 persons; neither was [f] the practice of luxury less among them than the number of its instruments, and this at length caused the ruin of the whole army, and of the king with it. However, at first Antiochus had full success; for he overthrew [g] Phrahates in three battles, and recovered Babylonia and Media; and thereon all the rest of those eastern provinces, which had formerly been provinces of the Syrian empire, revolted to him, excepting Parthia only; whereon Phrahates was reduced within the narrow limits of the first Parthian

Anno 131. John Hyrcanus 5.

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[a] Huetius Demonstrat. Evang. prop. iv. c. de Ecclesiastico.

[b] This book hath had several editions in print. See Buxtorf's Bibliotheca, Rabbinica, p. 324.

[c] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

[d] Justin. ibid. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 10. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 1.

[e] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

[f] Valerius Maximus & Justin. ibid. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 210. lib. 10. p. 439, and lib. 12, p. 540.

[g] Justin. ibid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 10.

kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, [h] accompanied Antiochus in this expedition; and, having had his part in all the victories that were obtained, returned with the glory of them at the end of the year.

But the rest of the army wintered in the East, and, by reason of the great numbers of them, and their attendants, as amounting to near 400,000 persons, [i] being forced to disperse all over the country, and quarter at such a distance from each other, as not to be able readily to gather together, and embody for their mutual defence on any occasion that should require it; the inhabitants, whom they grievously oppressed in all places where they lay, taking the advantage hereof to be revenged on them for it, conspired with the Parthians all to fall upon them in one and the same day, in their several quarters, and there cut all their throats, before they should be able to come together to help each other; and this they accordingly executed. Hereon [k] Antiochus, with the forces about him, hastening to help the quarters that lay next to him, was overpowered and slain, and the rest of the army at the same time were in all those places where they lay in quarters, in the same manner fallen upon, and all cut in pieces, or made captives, so that there scarce returned a man into Syria, of all this vast number, to carry thither the doleful news of this terrible overthrow. In the interim, Demetrius was returned into Syria, and, on his brother's death, there again recovered the kingdom. For Phrahates, [l] after being thrice vanquished by Antiochus, had released him from his captivity, and sent him back into Syria, hoping that, by raising troubles there for the recovery of his crown, he might force Antiochus to return for the suppressing of them. But, on the obtaining of this victory, he sent a party of horse after him, to bring him back again; but Demetrius being aware hereof, made such haste, that he was gotten over the Euphrates into Syria, before these forces could reach the borders

Anno 130. John Hyrcanus 6.

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[h] Josephus, ibid.

[i] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii p. 374.

[k] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. & lib. 39. c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 16. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 10. Appian. in Syriacis. Athenæus, lib. 10. p. 499. Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis. Ælianus de Animalibus, lib. 10. c. 34.

[l] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. Joseph. ibid.

of that country. And by this means he again recovered his kingdom, and [m] made great rejoicing thereon at the same time, when all the rest of Syria was in great sorrow and lamentation for the loss sustained in the East, there being scarce a family in the whole country which had not a part in it.

After Phrahates had gained this victory, he [n] caused the body of Antiochus to be taken up from among the dead, and, having put it into a silver coffin, sent it honourably into Syria, to be there buried among his ancestors, and, finding a daughter of his among the captives, [n] he was smitten with her beauty, and took her to wife.

Being flushed with this success, [o] he thought of carrying the war into Syria, for the revenging of this last invasion upon him; but, while he was preparing for it, he found himself entangled with a war at home from the Scythians. He had called them into Parthia, to assist him against Antiochus, but the work being done before they arrived, he denied them their hire; whereon they turned their arms against him whom they came to assist; and, to be revenged on him for the wrong hereby done them, made war upon him, and hereby Phrahates was forced to keep at home for the defending of his own country.

After the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus took the advantage of the disturbances and divisions that thenceforth ensued through the whole Syrian empire, not only to enlarge his territories [p] by seizing Medeba, Samega, and several other places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, and adding them to his dominions, but also, from this time, to make himself absolute and wholly independent. For, [q] after this, neither he nor any of his descendants, owned any further dependence on the kings of Syria, but thenceforth wholly freed themselves from all manner of homage, servitude, or subjection to them.

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[m] Justin. lib. 39. c. 1. [n] Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

[o] Justin. lib. 42. c. 1.

[p] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 76.

[q] Justin. lib. 36. c. 1. cujus verba sunt. 'Quorum, (*i. e.* Judæorum) vires tantæ fuere, ut, post hunc, nullum Macedonum regem tulerent, domesticisque imperiis usi, Syriam magnis bellis infestaverint.' And, agreeable hereto, Josephus' words are, lib. 13. c. 17. 'That, Hyrcanus, after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, revolted from the Macedonians, and henceforth, neither as a subject, or an ally, had any more to do with them.'

In the interim, Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, went still on in the same steps of luxury, cruelty, and tyranny, continuing to increase the number of his most flagitious iniquities, by the guilt of new wickednesses from time to time added to them. I have already related, how having married Cleopatra his sister, and relict of his brother, who had reigned before him, he slew her son in her arms, on the very day of the nuptials; after this [r] taking greater liking to Cleopatra the daughter, than to Cleopatra the mother, he first deflowered her by violence, and after that married her, having first divorced her mother, to make room for her. And whereas, on his having, by his cruelty, driven out most of the old inhabitants of Alexandria, he had repeopled it with new ones, whom he invited thither from foreign parts, he soon made himself, by the excesses of his wickedness, as odious to them as he was to the former inhabitants; [s] and therefore, thinking he might best secure himself from them, by cutting off all the young men, who were the strength of the place, he caused his mercenaries to surround them in the place of their public exercises, when they were in the fullest numbers met together, and put them all to death. Whereon, the people being exasperated against him to the utmost, [t] all rose in a general tumult, and, in their rage, set fire to his palace with intent to have burned him in it; but, having timely made his escape, he fled to Cyprus, carrying with him Cleopatra his wife, and Mephitis his son: and, on his arrival thither, hearing that the people of Alexandria had put the government of the kingdom into the hands of Cleopatra, his divorced wife, he hired an army of mercenaries to make war against both.

Hyrcanus, [u] having taken Sechem, the prime seat of the sect of the Samaritans, destroyed their temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been there built by Sanballat. However, they still continued to have an altar in that place, and still have one there, on which they offer sacrifices according to the Levitical law, even to this day.

Hyrcanus, after this, having conquered the Edomites, or

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[r] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 1.

[s] Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2.

[t] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 10. Epit. Livii, lib. 59.

[u] Joseph. lib. 13. c. 17.

Anno 129. John Hyrcanus 7.

Idumeans, [x] reduced them to this necessity, either to embrace the Jewish religion, or else to leave the country, and seek new dwellings elsewhere; whereon, choosing rather to leave their idolatry than their country, they all became proselytes to the Jewish religion; and hereon being incorporated into the Jewish nation, as well as into the Jewish church, they thenceforth became reputed as one and the same people, and at length the name of Edomites or Idumeans being swallowed up in that of Jews, it became wholly lost, and no more heard of. This abolition of their name happened about the end of the first century after Christ. For, after that, we hear no more mention of the name of Edomites or Idumeans, it being by that time wholly absorbed in the name of Jews. The Rabbies indeed speak of Edom and Edomites long after that time; but thereby they do not mean Idumea, or the sons of Edom, but [y] Rome, and the Christians of the Roman empire. For, fearing the displeasure of the Christians among whom they live, for avoiding of it, whenever they speak any reproachful thing of Christians, or their religion, they usually blend it under feigned names, sometimes calling us Cutheans, *i. e.* Samaritans, and sometimes Epicureans, and sometimes Edomites, and this last is the civellest appellation they give us. And for proselytes to Judaism to take the name of Jews, as well as their religion, was not peculiar to the Edomites only, it being usual for all others who took their religion to take also their name, and thenceforth be reputed as of the same nation with them, as well as of the same religion. Thus it was in the time of [z] Dion Cassius the historian, and thus it hath been ever since, even down to our age.

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[x] Joseph. ibid. & lib. 15. c. 11. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. Ammonius Grammaticus, de Similitudine & Differentia quarundam Dictionum, hæc habet—'Judæi sunt, qui a natura ita fuerunt ab initio; Idumæi autem non fuerunt Judæi ab initio, sed Phœnices et Syri, a Judæis autem superati, et, ut circumciderentur, et in unam cum eis gentem coirent, et eisdem legibis subdèrentur adacti, Judæi sunt nominati.'

[y] Vide Buxtorfiii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 30, 31.

[z] Verba ejus sunt, Ἡ γαρ χώρα Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ὠνομάσθησαν. Ἡ δ' ἐπίκλησις αὕτη φέρει καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁσοι τὰ νομιμα αὐτῶν σπερ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες ζηλοῦσι, *i. e.* The country is called Judea, and the people Jews. And this name is given also to as many others as embrace their religion, though of other nations, lib. 36. p. 37.

But here it is to be noted, that there were [a] two sorts of proselytes among the Jews: 1. The proselytes of the gate; and, 2. The proselytes of justice. The former they obliged only to renounce idolatry, and worship God according to the law of nature, which they reduced to seven articles, called by them *the seven precepts of the sons of Noah*. To these, they held, all men were obliged to conform; but not so as to the law of Moses; for this they reckoned as a law made only for their nation, and not for the whole world. As to the rest of mankind, if they kept the law of nature, and observed [b] the precepts above mentioned, they held, that they performed all that God required of them, and would by this service render themselves as acceptable to him as the Jews by theirs. And therefore they allowed all such to live with them in their land, and from hence they were called *Gerim Toshavim* i. e. *sojourning proselytes*, and for the same reason they were called also *Gere Shaar*, i. e. *proselytes of the gate*, as being permitted to dwell with those of Israel within the same gates. The occasion of this name seems to be taken from these words in the fourth commandment, *Vegereka Bishareka*, i. e. *and the strangers which are within thy gates*; which may as well be rendered, *the proselytes which are within thy gates*, that is, the proselytes of the gate that dwell within thee; for the Hebrew word, *Ger*, a *stranger*, signifieth also a *proselyte*; and both, in this place in the fourth commandment, come to the same thing; for no strangers were permitted to dwell within their gates, unless they renounced idolatry, and were proselyted so far as to the observance of the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. Though they were slaves taken in war, they were not permitted to live with them within any of the gates of Israel on any other terms; but, on their refusal thus far to comply, were either

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[a] See concerning these proselytes, Mede, book I. discourse 3. Hammond's Annotations on Matthew iii. 1. & xxiii. 15. Buxtorf's Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 407—410. But the fullest account of both these sorts of proselytes is in Maimonides' Yad, from whence it was published by me near 40 years since, with a Latin version, and annotations, under the title, *De Jure Pauperis et Peregrini*, to which I refer learned readers.

[b] As to what these precepts of the sons of Noah were, see Selden de Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum, Marsham's Can. Chron. sect. 9. and Maimonides and Buxtorf in the places last above cited, Hammond's Annotations on Acts xv. 29. and others.

given up to the sword, or else sold to some foreign people. And, as those who were thus far made proselytes were admitted to dwell with them; so also were they admitted into the temple, there to worship God; but were not allowed to enter any further than into the outer court, called *the court of the Gentiles:* for, in the inner courts, which were within the inclosure called the Chel, none were admitted, but only such as were thorough professors of the whole Jewish religion; and therefore, when any of these sojourning proselytes came into the temple, they always worshipped in the outer court. And of this sort of proselytes Naaman the Syrian, and Cornelius the centurion, are held to have been. The other sort of proselytes, called the *proselytes of justice*, were such as took on them the observance of the whole Jewish law: for, although the Jews did not hold this necessary for such as were not of their nation, yet they refused none, but gladly received all who would thus profess their religion; and they are remarked in our Saviour's time to have been very [c] sedulous to convert all they could hereto: and, when any were thus proselyted to the Jewish religion, they were initiated to it by baptism, sacrifice, and circumcision, and thenceforth were admitted to all the rites, ceremonies, and [d] privileges, that were used by the natural Jews. And in this manner was it that the Edomites, at the command of Hyrcanus, were made proselytes to the Jewish religion; and, when they had thus taken on them the religion of the Jews, they continued united to them ever after, till at length the name of Edomites was lost in that of Jews, and both people became consolidated into one and the same nation together.

Ptolemy Physcon, [e] while he lay in Cyprus, fearing lest the Alexandrians should make his son, whom he had appointed governor of Cyrene, king in his stead, sent for him from thence to come to him; and, on his arrival, put him to death, for no other reason, but to prevent that which, perchance without any reason, he feared as to this matter. By [f] which

[c] Matth. xxiii. 15.

[d] Intermarriages must be excepted: for from these some nations were excluded for ever, and others till after some generations; and particularly, the Edomites were till the third generation. See what hath been said of this, part I. book 6. under the year 428.

[e] Justin. lib. 38. c. 8.

[f] Justin. ibid. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 374. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Livii Epit. lib. 59.

cruel barbarity the Alexandrians being further exasperated, pulled down and demolished all his statues, wherever erected, in their city; which he interpreting to have been done at the instigation of Cleopatra his divorced queen, for the revenging of it upon her, caused Memphitis, the son he had by her, a very hopeful and beautiful young prince, to be slain before his face, and then, cutting his body into pieces, put them all into a box, with the head, thereby to shew to whom they belonged, and sent it with them therein inclosed to Alexandria, by one of his guards, ordering him to present it to the queen on the day then approaching, which he knew was to be celebrated with feasting and festival joy, as being the anniversary of her birth: and accordingly, in the midst of the festivity, it was presented to her; which soon turned all the rejoicing and mirth of the festival into sorrow and lamentation, and excited in all present that horror and detestation against the tyrant as so monstrous and unparalleled cruelty deserved. And this dismal present being exposed to the people, gave them the same sentiments, and provoked them with the greater earnestness to arm, for the keeping so great a monster of cruelty and barbarity from any more returning again to reign over them: and accordingly an army was raised, under the command of Marsyas, whom the queen had made her general, to defend the country against him.

Phrahates, having drawn upon him the war of the Scythians, [g] committed an oversight in the managing of it, as great as the injustice whereby he brought it upon him. For, to strengthen himself against these enemies, he entrusted his safety into the hands of those whom he had made more his enemies than the others, that is, the Grecian mercenaries who followed King Antiochus in his late expedition into those parts against him. For, having taken prisoners great numbers of them in the late overthrow of that prince, he, on the breaking out of this new war, listed them all among his other forces, for the better strengthening of his army for it. But, when they had thus gotten arms into their hands, remembering the wrongs, insolences, and other ill usages, with which they had been treated during their captivity, resolved to make use of this opportunity to be revenged for them; and therefore, as soon as the armies joined battle, they went over to the Scythians, and, by this conjunction with them, overthrew the Parthians with a great slaughter, cutting off Phrahates him-

[g] Justin. lib. 42. c. 1.

self in the rout, and most of his army with him. After this the Grecians and Scythians, having plundered the country, [h] contented themselves with this revenge, and both returned again into their own countries. On their departure, [h] Artabanus, the uncle of Phrahates, took the crown of Parthia; but, being within a few days slain in battle by the Thogarians, another nation of the Scythian race, he was succeeded by Mithridates, who, by the greatness of his actions, afterwards acquired the name of Mithridates the Great.

Anno 128. John Hyrcanus 8.

Ptolemy Physcon, having gotten together an army, [i] sent it against the Alexandrians, under the command of Hegelochus his general; and thereon a battle ensuing between him and Marsyas, the general of the Alexandrians, Hegelochus got the victory, and took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him in chains to Physcon. But, when it was expected that, according to his usual cruelty, he would have put him to some tormenting death, contrary to what every body expected, he pardoned him and let him go. For, having fully experienced what mischiefs followed upon him for his cruelties, he became weary of them, and acted in the contrary extreme; and, as he had put multitudes to death contrary to all reason, so he now pardoned this man without any reason at all for it. Cleopatra, being distressed by this overthrow, and the loss of her Alexandrian army, they being most of them cut in pieces in the rout, [k] sent to Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, for his assistance, promising him the crown of Egypt for his reward; which proposal Demetrius gladly accepting of, marched into Egypt with all his forces, and there laid siege to Pelusium.

About this time Hyrcanus [l] sent an embassy to the Romans, to renew the league made with them by Simon his father; which was readily consented to by the senate. And, whereas Antiochus Sidetes had made war upon the Jews, contrary to what the Romans had in their behalf decreed in that league, and taken from them several cities, and had made them to become tributaries for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places which they were permitted still to hold, and forced them to a

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[h] Justin. lib. 42. c. 2.

[i] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 376.

[k] Justin. lib. 38. c. 9. & lib. 39. c. 1. Græca Euseb. Scaligeri, p. 61.

[l] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17.

disadvantageous peace, by besieging Jerusalem; on the ambassadors setting forth all this before the senate, they agreed, that, whatsoever had been done against them of this kind since their said late league with Simon should be all null and void; that Gazara, Joppa, and all other places, that had been either taken from them by the Syrians, or been made tributary to them, contrary to the tenor of the said league, should be all again restored to them, and made free of all homage, tribute, or other services; and that reparations should be made them by the Syrians for all damages done them contrary to what the senate had decreed in their league with Simon; and that the Syrian kings should have no right to march their soldiers or armies through the Jewish territories; and that ambassadors should be sent to see this all fully executed. And it was further ordered, that money should be given the Jewish ambassadors for the bearing of their expences in their journey homeward, and that letters should be written to all the confederate states and princes in their way thither, to give them a safe and honourable passage through their dominions. And all this was accordingly done, which much rejoiced Hyrcanus and all the Jewish nation.

And therefore, the next year after, they [m] sent to them another embassy by Alexander the son of Jason, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Alexander the son of Dorotheus, to return their thanks for the said decree; and, in acknowledgement of it, they presented them by the said ambassadors with a cup and a shield, both of gold, to the value of 50,000 gold pieces of their money. Whereon another decree was made in their favour, ratifying and confirming all that was granted them in the decree of the former year. This decree is in Josephus recited at large, (Antiq. book 14. c. 16.) But it is there misplaced, as if it had been enacted in the time of Hyrcanus II. whereas the subject matter of it, and the date which it bears, manifestly proves, that it can be none other than that which was now granted to Hyrcanus I. and could not possibly be that which was granted to Hyrcanus II. the grandson of the other, in whose time Josephus placeth it. For, first, as to the subject matter of it, Josephus [m] tells us, in the place where he inserts it, that it was to give licence to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had pulled down: but there is not one word of any such matter in that decree, nor doth it con-

Anno 127. John Hyrcanus 9.

[m] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 24. c. 16.

tain or import any thing more than the renewing and confirming of a former league of friendship and alliance made with them, which plainly refers to that league which was made with them in the time of Hyrcanus I. in the year last here before preceding. And, secondly, as to the date which it bears, it is in the 9th year, which cannot be understood of Hyrcanus II. For Josephus tells us, that the decree which was made for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem was granted by Julius Cæsar to Hyrcanus II. [n] after the end of the Alexandrian war, in reward of the assistance which Hyrcanus II. sent him in it. But that war was not ended till the 47th year before Christ, long after the 9th year of that Hyrcanus. For the 47th year before Christ was the 17th year of Hyrcanus II. reckoning from the time of his restoration by Pompey, but the 23d reckoning from the beginning of his reign, on the death of his mother. And, furthermore, the preface to that decree, which Josephus tells us, was for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, bears date in the ides of December, (*i. e.* the 13th of that month;) whereas the date of the decree itself, which he puts under that preface, is in Panemus, the Syro-Macedonian month, which answers to our July, and therefore it could not possibly be the decree that belonged to that preface. All this put together plainly shews, this decree of the 9th year of Hyrcanus could not be the decree granted to Hyrcanus II. by Julius Cæsar for the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem; but [o] most certainly it must be that which was granted to Hyrcanus I. by the Roman senate in this year where I have placed it, and that it was by the mistake of Josephus that it was put by him elsewhere. And this is beyond all contradiction confirmed, by that Numenius, the son of Antiochus, is said, in the body of the decree, to have been one of the ambassadors by whom it was obtained, who was the same [p] that had been one of the ambassadors that were sent to Rome by Jonathan on a like embassy. For he might have well been alive to go on such an embassy in the 9th year of Hyrcanus I. but cannot be supposed to have been so after the ending of the Alexandrian war, which was near 100 years

[n] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 15, & 16. It is most likely this was not granted by Julius Cæsar till the year of his fifth consulship, and that it is the same which is now extant under that date in the 17th chapter of the 14th book of Josephus' Antiquities.

[o] De hac re vide Usserii Annales sub anno J. P. 4587.

[p] 1 Maccab. xii. 16.

after the former embassy, in which he was employed by Jonathan. [q] Joseph Scaliger takes notice of this blunder of Josephus', but, while he mends it, he makes as great ones of his own, which Salianus the Jesuit [r] justly corrects him for.

Demetrius, king of Syria, having, [s] by his tyrannical government, vicious manners, and a most perverse and disagreeable behaviour, made himself as odious to the Syrians as Physcon was to the Egyptians, they took the advantage of his absence at the siege of Pelusium to rise in rebellion against him. The Antiochians began this revolt, and soon after the Apameans, and many other of the Syrian cities followed their example, and joined with them herein. This forced Demetrius to hasten out of Egypt to look to his interest at home. [t] Whereon Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, being defeated of the assistance which she expected from him, put all her treasure on shipboard, and fled with it by sea to Ptolemais, to Cleopatra, queen of Syria, her daughter by Philometor, who there resided. This Cleopatra, the daughter, had first married Alexander Balas, and afterwards this Demetrius, in her father's lifetime; but, after that, Demetrius being taken prisoner in Parthia, and there detained in captivity, she became the wife of Antiochus Sidetes his brother, and, after his death, returned again to the bed of Demetrius, on his coming out of Parthia and recovering his kingdom; and then held Ptolemais when her mother came to her. Physcon, on her flight out of Egypt, returned again to Alexandria, and reassumed the government, there being no power in that place, after the death of Marsyas and the flight of Cleopatra, that could any further oppose him. After he had again settled himself in the kingdom, to be revenged on Demetrius for his late invasion, [u] he set up an impostor against him, who was called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria; but, feigning himself to be the son of Alexander Balas, under that pretended title claimed the crown of Syria, and Physcon furnished him with an army to take possession of it. On his arrival thither in Syria, multitudes joined with him, out of the great aversion they had to Demetrius, without examining at all the title of the pretender, as not caring

[q] In Animadversionibus in Chronologica Eusebii sub No. 1971.
[r] Sub anno mundi 4007, § 36, 37.
[s] Justin. lib. 39. c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17.
[t] Justin. ibid.
[u] Justin. lib. 39. c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17.

whom they had for their king, so they could get rid of Demetrius.

At length the controversy [x] was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near Damascus in Cœle-Syria; wherein Demetrius being overthrown, fled to Ptolemais to Cleopatra his wife. But she, retaining her resentments against him for his marrying Rhodaguna while in Parthia, took this opportunity of being revenged for it, and shut the gates against him; whereon being forced to flee to Tyre, he was there slain. After his death, Cleopatra retained some part of the kingdom, and Zebina reigned over all the rest: and, for the better securing of himself in it, [y] he made a strict league and alliance with John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews; and John made all the advantages of these divisions which might justly be expected from so wise a man, for the establishing of his own and his country's interest, and he much improved the state of the Jews thereby.

Anno 126. John Hyrcanus 10.

Vast [z] numbers of locusts about this time coming into Africa, there destroyed the fruits of the earth, and at last being by the wind driven into the sea, and there drowned, and, by the flowing of the tide, cast up upon the land, caused such a stench as poisoned the air, and produced a most terrible plague; which, in Libya, Cyrene, and other parts of Africa, destroyed above 800,000 persons.

Anno 125. John Hyrcanus 11.

Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius Nicator by Cleopatra, being now about 20 years old, [a] took upon him to reign in Syria in his father's stead, contrary to the good liking of his mother. For she having, on the death of Demetrius, seized part of the Syrian empire, thought to have reigned there by her own authority; and therefore was very angry at the setting up of her son against her; and besides she feared he would revenge his father's death upon her, which it was well known she had been the cause of; and therefore having gotten him within her

Anno 124. John Hyrcanus 12.

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[x] Justin. & Joseph. ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Livii Epit. lib. 60. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

[y] Joseph. ibid.

[z] Livii Epit. lib. 60. Orosius, lib. 5. c. 11. Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis.

[a] Livii Epit. ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 39. c. 1. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

power, she slew him with her own hands, by thrusting a dart through him, after he had reigned only one year.

[b] Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, three of Zebina's chief commanders, having revolted from him to Cleopatra, seized Laodicea, and there endeavoured to maintain themselves against him; but he, having soon reduced them, on their submission, out of his great clemency and magnanimity, pardoned them all, without doing any hurt to either of them. For he was a person of a very benign temper, and carried himself with a great deal of good nature, affability, and courtesy, towards all that came in his way, which made him very much beloved even by those who liked not the imposture whereby he usurped the crown.

In this year [c] died Mithridates Euergetes king of Pontus, being slain by the treachery of some of those that were about him. He was [d] succeeded by his son the famous Mithridates Eupator, who struggled so long with the Romans for the empire of Asia, having maintained a war against them for about [e] 30 years. He was but 12 years old when he began to reign; for he is [f] said to have lived 72 years, and to have reigned 60 of them. He was descended from a long series of kings who had reigned in Pontus before him. The first of them was [g] one of those seven princes that slew the Magians, and settled the kingdom of Persia on Darius Hystaspis, and, having obtained the sovereignty of the country, transmitted it to his posterity through 16 generations, Mithridates Eupator being reckoned [h] the 16th from him. The first of these of whom we find a name in history, is that Mithridates, [i] who, dying in the year before Christ 363, was succeeded by Ariobarzanes his son, then governor of Phrygia for Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia, who, having [k] reigned 26 years, was succeeded by [k] his son Mithridates II. in the year 337; he first took

[b] Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 377.

[c] Justin. lib. 37. c. 1. Strabo, lib. 10. p. 477.

[d] Memnon, c. 32. Strabo & Justin. ibid.

[e] Justin saith 46 years, ibid.; Appian. in Mithridaticis 42 years; Florus and Eutropius 40 years; but Pliny, lib. 7. c. 26. saith it lasted only 30 years; and he comes nearest the truth of the matter.

[f] Eutrop. lib. 6.

[g] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 388. L. Florus, lib. 3. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Aurelius Victor.

[h] Appian. in Mithridaticis. [k] Ibid. lib. 16.

[i] Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

part [l] with Eumenes against Antigonus, but, when Eumenes was slain, he submitted to the conqueror, and served him in his wars, and being a man of great valour and military skill, he was very useful to him; but at length, being suspected of being an underhand favourer of the interest of Cassander, Antigonus [m] caused him to be put to death in the year 302, after he had reigned 35 years. On his death [m] he was succeeded by his son Mithridates III. While his father lived, [n] he had for some time resided in the court of Antigonus, and there contracted great intimacy and friendship with Demetrius his son. But [n] Antigonus having dreamed, that when he had sowed a field with golden seed, and it had brought forth a plentiful crop of the same metal, Mithridates had reaped it all, and carried it away with him into Pontus, he concluded that this dream foretold that Mithridates should reap the fruit of all his victories; and therefore, for the preventing of it, resolved to put him to death. But Mithridates, being warned hereof by Demetrius, made his escape into Cappadocia, and, there having gotten together an army, seized several places and territories in those parts, which there belonged to Antigonus; and having, after his father's death, succeeded him, he added these acquisitions to the kingdom of Pontus; whereby, having very much enlarged it, he is reckoned as the founder of it; and therefore is by historians called [o] *Ktistes*, i. e. *the Founder*. He reigned in Pontus [p] 36 years, and on his death, which happened in the year 266, left his kingdom [q] to Ariobarzanes his son. From this Mithridates *the Founder*, Mithridates Eupator was [r] the eight, but, of these, history furnisheth us with the names only of [s] six, and these are, 1. Mithridates Ktistes, 2. Ariobarzanes, 3. Mithridates, 4. Pharnaces, 5. Mithridates Euergetes, and 6. Mithridates Eupator. Of Ariobarzanes no more is said but that he [t] suc-

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[l] Ibid. lib. 19.
[m] Ibid. lib. 20.
[n] Plutarch. in Demetrio. Appian. in Mithridaticis.
[o] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 562. Appian. in Mithridaticis.
[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.
[q] Memnon, c. 25. Diodor. ibid.
[r] Plutarch. & Appian. ibid.
[s] And for this reason perchance it is, that whereas Appian saith, in one place of his Mithridatics, that Mithridates Eupator was the eighth from Mithridates Ktistes, he saith in another place that he was only the sixth. See Appian. p. 176, & 249.
[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

ceeded his father. Mithridates, who is the next that is named, [u] married the daughter of Seleucus Callinicus king of Syria, and having by her a daughter called Laodice, [x] gave her in marriage to Antiochus the Great, son of Callinicus; and only on the account of these two marriages is he any where made mention of. Pharnaces [y] seized the city of Synope, and added it to the kingdom of Pontus in the year 183; made [z] war with Eumenes king of Pergamus in the year 182; invaded [a] Galatia in the year 181; and on these accounts, and several others, he is often spoken of; but for nothing more than the abominable character left behind him [b] of being one of the wickedest princes that ever reigned. Mithridates Euergetes is the next that is named in this race of kings. This Mithridates was son to Pharnaces, and grandson to Mithridates the immediate predecessor of Pharnaces. For that Mithridates, according to [c] Justin, was great grandfather to Mithridates Eupator; and therefore Pharnaces must have been his son, Mithridates Euergetes his grandson, and Mithridates Eupator his great-grandson. The first time we hear of this Mithridates Euergetes is in the year 149, when [d] he aided the Romans with some ships in the third Punic war; and he was aiding to them also [e] in their war with Aristonicus; for the reward of which, on the ending of that war, [f] they gave him the province of the Greater Phrygia. The last of this series was Mithridates Eupator, the prince we now speak of; and he being the most remarkable person of the time in which he lived, I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader to have an account here given of the race from whence he proceeded. It is very remarkable, [g] that, at the time of his birth, there appeared a very great comet for 70 days together, and the like again for the same number of days at the time of his accession to the crown; the tails of both which were so large, as to take up one quarter of the hemisphere. These seemed to portend that he should be a great

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[u] Justin. lib. 38. c. 5. [x] Polybius, lib. 5. p. 388.
[y] Strabo, lib. 12. p. 545, 546.
[z] Livius, lib. 40. Polybius, legat. 51. 53. 59.
[a] Polybius, legat. 55.
[b] Polybius in Excerptis Valesii, p. 130.
[c] Lib. 38. c. 5. [d] Appian. in Mithridaticis.
[e] Justin. lib. 37. c. 1. Eutropius, lib. 4.
[f] Justin. ibid. & lib. 38. c. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis.
[g] Justin. lib. 37. c. 2.

incendiary in the world, and so he proved. He begun his reign [h] with the murder of his mother and his brother, and all the rest of his actions were of a piece herewith. He was a person of very extraordinary abilities and endowments of mind, but he employed them all to the mischief of mankind, and many were the thousands that perished by it.

Anno 123. John Hyrcanus 13.

Cleopatra, having slain Seleucus her eldest son in the manner as I have related, found it necessary to have one with the name of king, to give countenance and support to the authority by which she governed; and therefore, having formerly sent Antiochus, the other son which she had by Demetrius, to Athens, for the benefit of his education, she recalled him from thence to take this name upon him; [i] and, on his arrival, declared him king of Syria, but with intent to allow him no more than the royal stile, and keep all the authority to herself; and, being then very young, as not yet exceeding [k] the age of 20, if so much, he was contented for some time to be made her property. To distinguish him from the other Antiochus', he is commonly called [l] Grypus, a name taken from [m] his hook-nose. He is called Philometor, by [n] Josephus, but Epiphanes by himself in his coins.

Anno 122. John Hyrcanus 14.

Zebina, on the death of Demetrius Nicator, having settled himself in a great part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, by whom he was advanced hereto, expected he should hold it as an homage and dependence from him; [o] which Zebina not understanding, nor in any point complying therewith, Physcon resolved to pull him down again as fast as he had set him up, and therefore, coming to an agreement with Queen Cleopatra his niece, married Tryphæna his daughter to Grypus her son, and sent an army to her assistance; whereby Zebina being overthrown, fled to Antioch; but there endeavouring privately [p] to rob

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[h] Memnon in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

[i] Justin. lib. 39. c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis.

[k] Demetrius his father married Cleopatra anno 146. and Seleucus was the eldest son of that marriage; and therefore Grypus, who was the second son, cannot be supposed at this time to be above twenty.

[l] Justin. ibid.

[m] Γρυπὸς in Greek signifieth one that is hook nosed.

[n] Antiq. lib. 13. c. 20. [o] Justin. lib. 39. c. 2.

[p] Justin. lib. 39. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. in Excerpus Valesii, p. 378.

the temple of Jupiter for the carrying on of the war, and being detected in the attempt, the Antiochians rose in a tumult against him, and drove him thence; whereon, being forced to shift from place to place about the country, he was at length taken and put to death.

L. Opimius and Q. Fabius Maximus being consuls at Rome, the seasons of the year in all their turns [q] proved so very kindly and benign, that the fruits of the earth now produced were all beyond what they used to be in other years, and especially their wine, which was this year of that excellency and strength, that some of it was kept for 200 years after, it being the famous Opimian wine (so called from the name of the consul) which is so much spoken of by the poets. Anno 121. John Hyrcanus 15.

After Zebina was vanquished and slain, Antiochus Grypus, now growing to maturity of age, began to take on him the authority as well as the name of king; whereby the power of Cleopatra in the government becoming very much eclipsed, she could not bear this diminution of her grandeur and domination; and therefore, for the recovering of it again wholly to herself, that so she might again absolutely rule and govern the Syrian empire, she resolved [r] to make away with Grypus, as she had before with Seleucus, and call to the crown another son of hers, which she had by Antiochus Sidetes; under whom, he being very young, she presumed she might much longer have the full enjoyment of the royal authority, and thereby have the opportunity of gathering strength for the fixing of herself in it for all her life after. And therefore, for the executing of this wicked design, having provided a cup of poison, she offered it to Grypus one day as he came hot and weary from exercising himself; but, being forewarned of the mischief she intended him, he forced her to drink it all herself, and it had its full operation upon her; and thereby an end was put to the life of a most wicked and pernicious woman, who had long been the plague of Syria. She [s] had been the wife of Anno 120. John Hyrcanus 16.

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[q] Plinius, lib. 14. c. 4. & c. 14.

[r] Justin. Appian. in Syriacis.

[s] The three kings of Syria whom she had for her husbands, were Alexander Balas, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes; and her four sons were Antiochus by Alexandar Balas, Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus by Demetrius, and Antiochus Cyzicenus by Antiochus Sidetes.

three kings of that country, and the mother of four. Two of her husbands she had been the death of: and, of her said sons, one she murdered with her own hands, and would have served Grypus in the same manner, but he made her wicked design turn upon her own head, as I have related; and thereon, having settled his affairs in peace and security, he reigned several years after without any disturbance, till at length Cyzicenus, his brother by the same mother, rose up against him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Anno 117. John Hyrcanus 19.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, [t] after having reigned there, from the death of Philometor his brother, 29 years, died at Alexandria, and thereby did put an end to a most wicked life, and to a most cruel and tyrannical reign, he being infamous for both, beyond all that reigned in that country before him; whereof too many instances are given in the foregoing part of this history. He left behind him three sons; the eldest, named Apion, [u] he had by a concubine, the other two [x] by Cleopatra his niece, whom he had married after his divorcing of her mother; the eldest of these was called [y] Lathyrus, and the other [z] Alexander. By his will, [a] he left the kingdom of Cyrene to Apion, and that of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with one of her sons which she should like best of the two to make choice of; and she, looking on Alexander as the likeliest to be compliant with her, [b] offered to make choice of him; but the people, not bearing that the eldest should be put by the right of his birth, forced her to send for him from Cyprus, where, in his father's lifetime, she had procured him to be banished, and admit him as king to reign in copartnership with her. But, before she would suffer him to be inaugurated at Memphis, according to the usage of the country, [c] she forced him to divorce Cleopatra, the eldest of his sisters

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[t] Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri. Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone. Epiphanes de Ponderibus & Mensuris. Hieronymus in Danielis cap. ix.

[u] Justin. lib. 39. c. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis, in fine libri.

[x] Justin. lib. 39. c. 3.

[y] Trogus Pompeius in Prologo 39. & 40. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 795. Plinius, lib. 2. c. 67. & lib. 6. c. 30.

[z] Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri. Justin. lib. 39. c. 4.

[a] Justin. lib. 39. c. 3.

[b] Pausanias in Atticis. Justin. ibid. [c] Justin. ibid.

(whom he had taken to be his wife, and dearly loved,) and marry in her stead Selene, his younger sister, who was not so acceptable to him. On his inauguration, he took the name of [d] Soter; [e] Athenæus and [f] Pausanias call him Philometor; but Lathyrus is the name by which he is mostly named in history. But that being [g] a nickname not tending to his honour, it was never owned by him.

Antiochus Grypus, while he was preparing for a war against the Jews, [h] was prevented by a war at home, raised against him by Antiochus Cyzicenus, his half brother. He was the son of Cleopatra by Antiochus Sidetes, born to him of her while Demetrius her former husband was a prisoner among the Parthians. But, on Demetrius' returning again, and repossessing his kingdom, after the death of Sidetes, Cleopatra, fearing how Demetrius might deal with him, should he fall into his hands, sent him out of his reach to Cyzicus, a city lying on the Propontis in the Lesser Mysia, where he was bred up under the care and tuition of Craterus, a faithful eunuch, to whose charge he was committed; and therefore from hence he had the name of Cyzinicus. Grypus, being jealous of him, endeavoured to have him taken out of the way by poison; which being discovered, forced Cyzicenus to arm against him for his life, as well as the crown of Syria. And it is often the hard case of princes, to be thus brought to a necessity either to reign or die, without having any medium between for their choice.

Anno 114. John Hyrcanus 22.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus was forced to divorce, after that separation, [i] disposed of herself in marriage to Cyzicenus, and, having gotten together an army in Cyprus instead of a dowry, carried that with her to him into Syria, for his assistance in this war

Anno 113. John Hyrcanus 23.

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[d] Porphyr. ibid. Ptol. in Canone. Euseb. in Chronicon. Epiphanes de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Hieronymus in Danielis cap. ix.

[e] Athenæus, lib. 6. p. 252.

[f] In Atticis.

[g] Λαθυρος signifieth a *pea*, which the Latins call Cicer; from whence the family of the Ciceros had their name, because of an excrescence which one of their ancestors had on his nose like a pea: but for what reason Ptolemy Lathyrus had this name is no where said; perchance it was because of such like excrescence somewhere upon him in constant view either on his nose or face.

[h] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 39. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri, p. 61.

[i] Justin. lib. 39. c. 3.

against his brother, whereby his forces being made equal to those of his brother, he came to a battle with him; but, having had the misfortune to be overthrown, he fled to Antioch, and having there left his wife, as he thought, in a safe place, he went thence to other parts for the recruiting of his broken forces. Hereon Grypus laid siege to Antioch, and he having taken the place, Tryphæna, the wife of Grypus, earnestly desired to have Cleopatra delivered into her hands, that she might put her to death, so bitterly was she enraged against her, though her own sister, both by father and mother, for that she had married her husband's enemy, and brought an army to his assistance against him. But Cleopatra having taken sanctuary in one of the temples at Antioch, Grypus was very unwilling to comply with the rage of his wife in this matter. He urged against it the sacredness of the place where she had taken refuge, and further told her, that the putting her to death would serve to no purpose; that the cutting her off would no way weaken or hurt the interest of Cyzicenus, nor the keeping of her alive be of any strengthening to it; that, in all the wars, whether domestic or foreign, which he or his ancestors had been engaged in, it had never been their usage, after victory obtained, to execute cruelty upon women, especially upon so near a relation; that Cleopatra was her sister, and also [k] his own near kinswoman; and therefore he desired her to press this thing no further, for he could not comply with her in it. But Tryphæna, instead of being dissuaded hereby from what she so cruelly intended against her sister, was the more excited to the executing of it: for, suspecting this to proceed from some love Grypus had contracted for the lady, rather than barely from a pity for her case, she added jealousy to her anger; and therefore, being driven by a double passion to work her destruction, in the heat of both, she forthwith sent soldiers into the temple, who, by her command, there slew the unfortunate lady, while embracing the image of the god to which she fled thither for refuge. This shews how great the rage of this sister was against the other. And thus it often comes to pass, when enmity happens between those of the same family and kindred, the nearer is the relation, the bitterer often is the hatred between them; of which many instances may be found within every man's observation. And the same may also be observed in differences

[k] Physcon, her father, was uncle to Cleopatra, the mother of Grypus.

of religion, they that are at the greatest distance herein being seldom so incensed as the nearest of the subordinate sects usually are against each other.

In the interim Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who was mother to both these two sisters, expressed no regard or concern for either of them: for her mind being actuated wholly by ambition and the love of reigning, she employed all her thoughts this way, that is, how she might best support her authority in [illegible], and there continue to reign without control as long as she should live. And therefore, for the better strengthening of herself for this purpose, [l] she made Alexander, her younger son, king of Cyprus, that she might from thence be assisted by him, against Lathyrus his brother, whenever occasion should require.

But the death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long go unrevenged. For [m] Cyzicenus, having drawn another army together, fought a second battle with his brother, and, having gained the victory, and in the pursuit of it gotten Tryphæna into his power, he sacrificed her to the ghost of his murdered wife, by putting her to such a death as her cruelty to her well deserved. Grypus, by this overthrow, being driven out of Syria, [n] fled to Aspendus in Pamphylia, from whence he had also the name of Aspendius. Anno 112. John Hyrcanus 24.

But the next year after, he [o] returning from thence with an army, again recovered Syria: and the two brothers thenceforth parting the Syrian empire between them, Cyzicenus reigned at Damascus over Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and Grypus at Antioch over all the rest. Both brothers [p] were very excessive in their luxury and other follies; and so were most of the other later Syrian kings; and to this and their divisions they owed the loss of their empire; for they were truly men most unworthy of it. Anno 111. John Hyrcanus 25.

While these two brothers were thus harassing each other in war, or else wasting themselves in the luxury of peace, John Hyrcanus [q] grew in riches and power; and finding he had nothing to fear from either of them, resolved to reduce Samaria under Anno 110. John Hyrcanus 26.

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[l] Pausanias in Atticis. Porphyr. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.
[m] Justin. lib. 39. c. 3. [n] Porphyr. ib. p. 62. [o] Porphyr. ib.
[p] Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 385. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 210. & lib. 12. p. 540.
[q] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17.

his dominion; and therefore [r] sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to besiege the city: whereon the inhabitants, sent to Antiochus Cyzicenus, king of Damascus, for his relief; who, coming with a great army to raise the siege, was met by the two brothers, and, being vanquished by them, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, he hardly escaped out of their hands.

Anno 109. John Hyrcanus 27.

The two brothers, [s] after the gaining of this victory, having again returned to the siege, pressed it so hard that the besieged were forced a second time to send to Cyzicenus for relief: but he, having not forces enough of his own for the attempt, desired the assistance of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who sent him 6000 auxiliaries, much to the dislike of Cleopatra his mother. For Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, sons of that Onias who built the Jewish temple in Egypt, being her chief favourites, and ministers that commanded all her forces, and directed all her counsels, for their sakes she much favoured the Jews, and was averse to any thing that might tend to their damage; and she had like to have deposed Lathyrus from the throne for acting against her will in this matter. When the Egyptian auxiliaries arrived, Cyzicenus joined them with what forces he had, but durst not openly face the enemy, or make any attempt upon the army that lay at the siege, but spent himself wholly in harassing and plundering the open country, hoping thereby to draw the Jews from the siege for its relief; but, failing of his expectations herein, and finding also that his army, what by surprises, desertions, and other casualties, was much diminished in the carrying on of this sort of war, he durst not trust himself abroad in the field any longer with it, but retired to Tripoly, leaving Callimander and Epicrates two of his prime commanders, to pursue the remainder of the war; the former of which, rashly venturing upon an enterprise too hard for him, was cut off with all his party; whereon Epicrates, finding that nothing further was to be done, made the best advantage of it that he could for his own interest. For, coming to an agreement with Hyrcanus, for a sum of money he delivered up unto him Scythopolis, and all other places which the Syrians had in that country, and thereby basely betrayed the interest of his master for his own gain. Whereon Samaria, being deprived of all further hopes of relief, was forced, after it had held out a year's

[r] Ibid. & c. 18.

[s] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 17.

siege, to surrender into the hands of Hyrcanus, who forthwith demolished the place, causing not only the houses and walls to be pulled down and razed to the ground, but also trenches to be drawn through and across the ground whereon it stood, and to [t] be filled with water, that it might never again be built. They are mistaken who think this was done out of the hatred which the Jews bore to the sect of the Samaritans: for none of that sect then lived in that place. All the inhabitants of that city were then of the Syro-Macedonian race, and the Heathen superstition. For the ancient Samaritans, who were of the sect that worshipped God in Mount Gerizim, had been long before all expelled thence by Alexander for the revenging of the death of Andromachus his governor of Syria, whom they slew in a tumult, as hath been before related in the first part of this history. After this, these expelled Samaritans retired to Shechem, which hath been the head seat of their sect ever since. And Alexander new planted the city with a colony of Macedonians, Greeks, and Syrians, mixed together, and they were of their posterity that then inhabited the place, when Hyrcanus made this war against it. From this time, Samaria continued in its demolished state, till Herod rebuilt it, and gave it the name of [u] Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, as will be hereafter related. After this victory, Hyrcanus became master of all Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, and of several other places in the outskirts of the country round him; whereby he made himself one of the most considerable princes of the age in which he lived; and after this, none of his neighbours durst any more cope with him, but he enjoyed the remainder of his time in full quiet from all foreign wars.

But in the latter end of his life he [x] met with some trouble from the Pharisees, a busy and mutinous sect among the Jews. These, by their pretences to a more than ordinary strictness of religion, had gained to themselves a great reputation and interest among

Anno 108. John Hyrcanus 28.

[t] So saith Josephus in the place last quoted. Salianus cavils much at him for it, because Samaria stood upon an high hill. But Benjamin of Tudela, who was on the place, tells us in his Itinerary, that there were upon the top of this hill many fountains of water; and from these water enough might have been derived to fill these trenches.

[u] Σεβαστος is Greek for Augustus: hence Σεβαστη.

[x] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18.

the common people; and for this reason Hyrcanus endeavoured to gain them to him by all manner of favours. He had been bred up in their discipline from the beginning, and therefore, professing himself of their sect, had always given them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and farther to ingratiate himself with them about this time, invited the heads of the party to an entertainment, and, having therein regaled them with all manner of good cheer, he spake to them to this effect: "That the fixed purposes of his mind "as they well knew, had always been to be just in his actions "towards men, and to do all things towards God, that should "be well pleasing to him, according to the doctrines which "the Pharisees taught; and therefore he desired, that, if they "saw any thing in him wherein he failed of his duty, in "either of these two branches of it, they should give him "their instructions, that thereby it might be reformed and "amended." In answer hereto, they all applauded his conduct, all gave him the praise of a just and religious governor, excepting only one man, and Hyrcanus was mightily pleased hereat. But when all these had done with their encomiums, this one man, named Eleazar, a very ill-natured person, and one that much delighted in making disturbances, stood up, and, addressing himself to Hyrcanus, said, "Since you are "desirous to be told the truth, if you would approve your-"self a just man, quit the high priesthood, and content your-"self with having the government of the people." Whereon Hyrcanus asking him what reason there was for this, he replied, "Because we are assured, by the testimony of the "ancients among us, that your mother was a captive taken in "the wars, and therefore, as born of her, you are incapable "of the high priesthood, and cannot hold it by the law." And, had the matter of fact been true, his inference had been right. For, [y] whoever was born of any prohibited marriage, was by the law of Moses profane, and so was, by the same law, [z] incapable of being priest, or high priest. Now, these prohibited marriages among the Jews were, in respect of the different degrees of the persons to whom they were prohibited, of three different sorts. 1. Such as were prohibited to all Israel; and these were, [a] the marrying within the prohibited

[y] Levit. xxi. 15. Maimonides in Issure Biah, c. 19.

[z] For the priest was to be holy, Lev. xxi. 8. but profane is opposite to holy.

[a] Levit. xviii.

degrees of kindred, and [b] the marrying any of another nation. 2. Such as were prohibited to priests; and [c] these were, the marrying of a whore, or a divorced woman, or one that was profane. 3. Such as were prohibited to the high priest, who, over and above all these other prohibited marriages, was [d] also forbidden to marry a widow. For the words of the law are, that he should take none other to wife but a virgin of his own people. And therefore, if an high priest had a son by any of these prohibited marriages, or a priest by any of those prohibited to him, that son was profane, and thereby rendered incapable of being either priest or high priest. For, as the prohibited marriages of the first sort above mentioned, as well as those of the second, were forbidden the priest, so all three were forbidden the high priest; that is, the first sort as he was an Israelite, the second as he was a priest, and the third as he was high priest. And therefore, had Hyrcanus' mother [e] been an alien taken captive in war, or any other, when first married to his father, than one whose marriage was allowed to a priest (for Simon was no more than a priest when he first married her,) every son born of her would have been profane, and consequently incapable of being either priest or high priest. But the matter of fact, [f] Josephus (from whom alone we have this story) assures us, was all false, and a most notorious calumny; and therefore the objecting of it was disapproved of, and resented with great indignation by all that were present; and it afterwards became the origin of great disturbances. For Hyrcanus not being able to bear that his mother should be thus defamed, and the purity of his birth and his capacity for the high priesthood be hereby called in question, was exceedingly exasperated hereat;

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[b] Deut. vii. 3. [c] Levit. xxi. 7.

[d] Levit. xxi. 13, 14.

[e] The words of Eleazar in Josephus may be construed to import her not to have been an alien taken in war by the Jews, but a Jewish woman taken captive by the Heathen, and made a slave among them, and afterwards redeemed: but which way of the two it be, it comes to the same thing: for whatever Jewish woman was thus taken captive by any Heathen people, was always supposed to have been deflowered by them; and such an one was not to be married either to a priest or an high priest; and, if she were, all her children were reckoned profane, and consequently incapable of being either priest or high priest.

[f] Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18.

which one Jonathan, a zealous disciple of the Sadducees (the opposite sect to the Pharisees,) and an intimate friend of Hyrcanus, observing, laid hold of this opportunity to set him against the whole party, and draw him over to that of the Sadducees. For this purpose, he suggested to Hyrcanus, that this was not the single act of Eleazar, but most certainly a thing concerted by the whole party; that Eleazar in speaking of it out was no more than the mouth of all the rest: and, that he needed do no more for the full assuring of himself of the truth hereof, than to refer it to them for their opinion what punishment the calumniator deserved; for if he would be pleased, urged Jonathan, to make this experiment, he would certainly find, by the lenity of their sentence against the criminal, that they were all parties with him in the crime. Hyrcanus, hearkening to the suggestion of Jonathan, followed his advice, and accordingly proposed it to the heads of the Pharisees, for their opinion what punishment Eleazar deserved, for thus defaming the prince and high priest of his people, expecting from them no lesser sentence than that of death. Their answer hereto was, that defamation and calumny were no capital crimes, and therefore, could be punished no farther than with [g] whipping and imprisonment. Whereon Hyrcanus, being fully persuaded that all that Jonathan suggested was true, became thenceforth a bitter enemy to the whole sect of the Pharisees; for he forthwith abrogated all their traditionary constitutions, enjoined a penalty upon all that should observe them; and, utterly renouncing their party, [h] went over to that of the Sadducees.

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[g] This punishment among the Jews was not to exceed 40 stripes (Deut. xxv. 3.) and therefore the whip with which it was inflicted being made with three thongs, and each blow giving three stripes, they never inflicted upon any criminal more than 13 blows, because 13 of these blows made 39 stripes; and to add another blow, would be to transgress that law, by adding two stripes over and above 40, contrary to its prohibition. And in this manner was it, that St. Paul, when whipped of the Jews, received 40 stripes save one (2 Corinth. xi. 24.) that is, 13 blows with this three-fold whip, which made 39 stripes, i. e. 40 save one.

[h] That is, by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority with it; but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state: for this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be. It is most probable, that

But Hyrcanus did not long live after this ruffle; [i] for he died the next year after, after having been from the death of Simon his father, high priest and prince of the Jews 29 years. He was, saith Josephus, honoured with three of the highest dignities: for he was, according to him, [k] a prophet, as well as a prince and high priest; of which there are given [k] two instances, 1st, That he foretold, that [l] Aristobulus and Antigonus, his two eldest sons, should not live long after him, but that the succession of the government should come to Alexander, his third son; and 2dly, That when Aristobulus and Antigonus vanquished Antiochus Cyzicenus in battle, [m] was made known to him the very same moment in which the victory was gained, though he were then at Jerusalem, at the distance of two days journey from the field of battle. The former, they say, was revealed to him [n] in a dream of the night, and the other [o] by a voice from heaven, which the Jews call *Bath Kol*, i. e. *The daughter of a voice*, or *the daughter voice*: for the Jewish writers hold, that there were three sorts of revelations anciently among them; the first by *Urim and Thummim*; the second by the spirit of prophecy; and the third by *Bath Kol*. The first, they say, was in use from the erecting of the tabernacle to the building of the temple; the second from the beginning of the world (but mostly under the first temple) till the death of Malachi under the second temple. But that, after the death of Malachi, the spirit of prophecy [p] wholly ceased in Israel, and that [q] thenceforth they had *Bath Kol* in its stead, which, they say, was a voice from heaven. That they called it *Bath Kol*, i. e. *the daughter voice*, or *the daughter of a voice*, (for it may be interpreted both ways,) seems to be with respect to the oracular voice delivered from the mercy-seat, when God was

Anno 107. John Hyrcanus 29.

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at this time the Sadducees had gone no further in the doctrines of that sect, than to deny all their unwritten traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of. For Josephus mentions no other difference at this time between them, neither doth he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other particular, than in the abolishing of all the traditional constitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as he.

[i] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. Euseb. in Chronico.
[k] Joseph. ibid. [l] Ibid. & c. 20. [m] Ibid. & c. 18.
[n] Ibid. & c. 20. [o] Ibid & c. 18.
[p] Talmud. Bab. in Tract. Sanhedrin. fol. 11.
[q] See Lightfoot's Works, vol. 1. p. 485.

there consulted by *Urim* and *Thummim*. That was the grand and primary voice of revelation, this of a secondary dignity, and inferior to it, as the daughter is to the mother: and therefore, in respect to it, and as succeeding in its stead, [r] it is called *the daughter voice*, the other being to it as the mother in precedence both of time and dignity. That it may be understood what kind of oracle this was, I shall here give the reader one instance of it out of the [s] Talmud: it is as followeth: "Rabbi Joshanan, and Rabbi Simeon Ben Lachish, desiring to see the "face of R. Samuel, a Babylonish doctor, Let us follow, said "they, the hearing of *Bath Kol*. Travelling, therefore, near "a school, they heard the voice of a boy reading these words "out of the first book of Samuel, chap. xxv. 1. *And Samuel "died;* they observed this, and inferred from hence, that "their friend Samuel was dead: and so they found it had "happened; for Samuel of Babylon was then dead." Many more instances of this sort may be produced out of the Jewish writings: but this is enough to let the reader see, that their *Bath Kol* was no such voice from heaven as they pretend, but only a fantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the Heathens: for as, with them, [t] the words first dipped at in the book of that poet was the oracle where they prognosticated those future events which they desired to be informed of; so with the Jews, when they appealed to *Bath Kol*, the next words which they should hear from any one's mouth were the same. And this they called a voice from heaven, because thereby they thought the judgment of heaven to be declared as to any dubious point they desired to be informed of, and the decrees of heaven to be revealed concerning the future success of any matter which they would be pre-informed of, whensoever, in either of these two cases they this way consulted it. The *Sortes Virgilianæ*, on the failing of oracles, after the coming of Christ, were, in-

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[r] There is also another reason given for this name, that is, that it came out of thunder; that the thunder clap always went first, and then the *Bath Kol* out of it; and that therefore the thunder was as the mother voice, and *Bath Kol* as the daughter coming out of it. But this cannot be true; for most of the instances which the Jewish writers give us of their *Bath Kol* are without any such thunder preceding.

[s] In Shabbath, fol. 8. col. 3.

[t] Videas de his fortibus Petri Molinæi Vatem, lib. 3. c. 26. & Glossarium Domini du Cange, in voce *Sortes*.

stead of them, [u] much made use of by the Heathens, as long as Heathenism remained among the Romans. And the Christians, when Christianity first began to be corrupted, learned from them the like way of divination, and much practised it, without any other change, than by putting the book of the holy scriptures in the place of the book of the Heathen poet. This was as ancient as the time of St. Austin, who lived in the fourth century; for [x] he makes mention of it. And it was practised by Heraclius, emperor of the East, in the beginning of the seventh century. For, being engaged in war against Chosroes king of Persia, and, after a successful campaign, being in doubt where to take his winter quarters, [y] enjoined a time of fasting and prayer to all his army; and, after that, consulted the book of the holy scriptures in this way of divination, and thereby determined himself as to this matter. But it obtained most in the West, especially in France, where, for several ages, [z] it was the practice, on the consecration of a new bishop, to consult the Bible concerning him by this way of divination, and, from the words which they should first dip at the opening of the book, make a judgment of his life, manners, and future behaviour. And the Normans, on their conquest of this land, brought this usage hither with them. On the consecration of William, the second Norman bishop of the diocese of Norwich, the words which the Bible first opened at for him were, [a] *Non hunc, sed Barabbam*, i. e. *Not this man, but Barabbas;* by which they made a judgment, that this bishop was not long to continue, and that a thief should come in his place; and so it accordingly happened. For, William soon after dying, Herbertus de Losinga, another Norman, was made his successor, who was chief Simony broker to King William Rufus, (that king openly selling all ecclesiastical benefices,) and had [b] simoniacally obtained of him

[u] Videas exempla hujus Ῥαψωδομαντείας apud Æloum Spartianum in Adriano, & apud Ælium Lampridium in Alexandro Severo.

[x] Epist. 109.

[y] Theophanes in Chronico. Historia Miscella & Cedrenus in Heraclio.

[z] Videas Glossarium Domini du Cange, in vocibus Sortes Sanctorum.

[a] John xvii. 40.

[b] Henricus Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ inter decem Scriptores Historiæ Anglicanæ, p. 2370. Bartholomæus de Cotton in Anglia Sacra Whartoni. Brompton inter eosdem decem Scriptores, p. 991. M. Paris, p. 15.

the abbey of Winchester for his father, and the abbey of Ramsay for himself; and had now, by the like evil means, gained the bishopric. At his consecration, the words which the Bible opened at for him [c] were the same which Christ spoke to Judas when he came to betray him; [d] *Amice, ad quod venisti?* i. e. *Friend, wherefore art thou come?* These, and the former words for his predecessor, putting home upon his conscience how much he had been a thief and a traitor to Christ and his church, [e] brought him to a thorough repentance for his crimes; and, to expiate for them, he built the cathedral church of Norwich, of which he laid the first stone in the year of our Lord 1096. And afterwards, having translated his episcopal chair from Thetford to it, he thereby fixed the see of his bishopric in the city of Norwich, and there it hath been ever since. This account may serve not only to shew the great folly of mankind in devising such vain and groundless prognostics for future events (which too many are guilty of,) but also to make us see how abominable the corruptions of the Romish church were in those days, in their thus running into so impious a practice, and making it part of their sacred offices; for such their ordinals are reckoned to be, in which this way of prognosticating at the consecrations of bishops was then directed. This indeed was too gross long to be continued; but, when it was dropped, other things came in its stead altogether as bad. And, since it was the ignorance and blind superstition of those ages that introduced these abominations, this tells us how to account for the rise of all the other corrupt practices and doctrines that still are found remaining among those of that communion.

It is also spoken of, to the honour of Hyrcanus, that [f] he was the founder of the castle Baris, which was the palace of the Asmonean princes in Jerusalem as long as they reigned there. When Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, had destroyed the fortress on Mount Acra, in which an Heathen garrison had been kept for the Syrian kings, [g] he built fortifications round the mountain on which the temple stood, for the better securing and fortifying of it against all future insults from the Heathens, should any of them in after times again become

[c] Knighton & Bartholom. de Cotton, ibid.
[d] Matth. xxvi. 50.
[e] Knighton & Bartholom. de Cotton, ibid.
[f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6.
[g] 1 Maccabees xiii. 52.

masters of Jerusalem. And within these fortifications [h] he built an house for himself, and there he dwelt all his life after. This house seems to be the same which Hyrcanus afterwards built into the castle Baris. [i] It stood on a steep rock, 50 cubits [k] high, without the outer square of the temple, upon the same mountain with it; and the south side of it did run parallel with the north side of the said square, beginning westward, and reaching forward to the north-west corner of the same square, or beyond it to the length of half a furlong. For it was a square building, of two furlongs in compass, that is, of half a furlong, or 300 feet, on every side, (for a furlong contained 600 of our feet.) Here Hyrcanus, and all his successors of the Asmonean family, dwelt, and kept their court; and here they laid up the pontifical stole, or sacred robes of the high priest, taking them out when they used them on all solemn occasions, and there again depositing them as soon as the said solemnities were over. And thus it continued to be done till the time of Herod, who, on his being made king of Judea, having observed the convenience of the place, new built it, and made it a very strong fortress. The rock on which it stood, I have already said, was [k] 50 cubits, *i. e.* 75 feet high; this he lined or cased all over with polished marble, whereby he rendered it inaccessible, it not being possible for any one to climb up on it on either of those sides on which it was thus lined, by reason of its slipperiness. Upon the top of this rock he built his fortress, and, instead of Baris, the name it formerly bore, called it Antonia, complimenting thereby Marcus Antonius the triumvir, who then governed the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. The form of the building was that of a quadrangle, all built on every side, wherein were rooms for all the uses of a palace, and of magnificence suitable thereto; and in the middle within was a large area for the soldiers to be in, and round it was a stately piazza or cloister. The whole building was, on the outside, 40 cubits high above the rock on which it stood; and, at the four corners, it had four tur-

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[h] 1 Maccab. xiii. 52.

[i] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 6. c. 15. & Antiq. lib. 14. c. 10. & lib. 18. c. 6. Lightfoot of the Temple, chap. 7.

[k] These 50 cubits are not to be understood of the side next the temple, but of the other sides off from it, upon the brow of the mountain on which the temple stood, where this rock, from the valley beneath up to the top whereon the castle was built, was 50 cubits high.

rets, three of which were 50 cubits high, *i. e.* 10 cubits above the rest of the building, and the fourth 70 cubits high, *i. e.* 30 above the rest of the building. This fourth turret was that which stood at the south-east corner of the fortress. For that lying near the middle of the north side of the great square of the temple, it was built at this height, that from thence might be seen all that was done in the courts within; so that, if any tumult should arise in any part of the temple, it might from thence be observed, and soldiers sent down to quell it. And for this use there were made, from two several parts of the south side of the fortress, two pair of stairs leading from thence into the outer cloisters of the temple that were next adjoining. And thus it was, when the tumult was risen in the temple against St. Paul, (Acts xxi.) the whole of which, by observing what hath been above said, may be clearly understood. St. Paul, being to perform his vow as a Nazarite, (ver. 26.) was in the court of the women, the south-east corner of which was the place appointed for the rites belonging to this matter. Here the Jews having found him, (ver. 27.) laid hold of him, and, having dragged him out of that holier part of the temple into the court of the Gentiles, which was not of the holier part, purposed there to have slain him, (ver. 30. and 31.;) which the centinel, that kept watch on the south-east turret of the fortress Antonia, from thence discerning, gave notice of it; whereon the captain of the fortress, taking soldiers, ran down the stairs above mentioned into the outer cloisters of the temple, and from thence into the court where the mutiny was, and having there rescued Paul from the multitude, he carried him with him into the said fortress or castle up the same pair of stairs through which he came down, (ver. 32. and 33.;) and, when he had brought him near the top of them, the people having by that time got round to the place of those stairs without the temple, Paul obtained leave of the captain there to speak to them; and from thence he made that speech which is contained in Acts xxii. And from what was done in this instance may be understood the use that was made of this fortress at all other times. It was called *Baris* from *Birah*, which word among the eastern nations signified a palace or royal castle; and in this sense it is often used in those scriptures of the Old Testament which were written after the Babylonish captivity, as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther; which shews it to have been borrowed from the Chaldeans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language. The Septuagint often renders it by the word

Baris; and in this sense it is that this fortress was under the Asmoneans called Baris, that is, the Birah or royal palace of the prince; for that it was during all the reign of the Asmoneans: and, when Herod first rebuilt it, he intended it for the same purpose; but afterwards, finding it more proper for a fortress, he built him a palace elsewhere, and turned this into a garrison: for the temple, by reason of its height, commanding Jerusalem, and this fortress, in like manner, commanding the temple, he thought he could not better keep the other two in order and awe, than by having a good garrison in this fortress. And, when Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans, they continued it to the same use, keeping always a strong garrison in it, and, by reason of its immediate influence upon the temple, the captain of the garrison is, in the scriptures of the New Testament, called *the Captain of the Temple*, Luke xxii. 52. Acts iv. 1. v. 24—26. The Asmoneans [m] having always kept the pontifical robes in this fortress, here Herod, on his coming to the crown, found them, and here he continued still to keep them in the same place, and so did Archelaus his successor, and the Romans after him, all upon an opinion, that their having these robes in their possession would be a means for the better keeping of the Jews in awe. The [n] custom was, to lay them up in a cabinet made of purpose for it, under the seals of the high priest and the treasurer of the temple; and, when they needed them for the sacred solemnities on which they were used, they exhibited their seals to the captain of the castle, and then had the robes delivered to them; and, when the solemnities were over, they were then again laid up under the same seals in the same place; and thus it continued to be done, till at length the temple, this fortress, and the robes in it, were all destroyed in the deflagration and total destruction of the city of Jerusalem by Titus and his Romans.

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[l] Hence this word came in use among the Hellenists to denote a castle, tower, or walled fortress; and so Hesychius and Suidas interpret the word; and so also St. Jerom, in his comment on Jeremiah xvii. and on Hosea ix. and on Psal. xliv. But the Ionic and other genuine Greeks used it to signify a sort of a ship; and in this sense the word is used by Herodotus in that part of his history where he writes of Egyptian affairs.

[m] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 6. c. 15. & Antiq. lib. 14. c. 15. & lib. 18. c. 6.

[n] Joseph. ibid.

During the whole time of Hyrcanus' government, all things went with him successfully abroad, and smooth and quiet at home, till his unfortunate breach with the Pharisees. But, after he fell out with them, and went over to the Sadducees, [o] he lost the love of the common people; for they, being wholly attached to the Pharisees, joined with them in their resentments for this procedure. And from this time neither he nor any of his family could any more recover their affections; which afterwards created them infinite troubles, especially in the time of Alexander the son of this Hyrcanus, as will be hereafter shewn in the future series of this history.

But since I have here spoken of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and there will be many occasions hereafter to make mention of them, and also of the other sects and parties among the Jews, it will be necessary, for the better understanding of the following part of this history, here to give the reader a full account of all of them before I proceed any further. I have above shewn, that, after the return of the Jews from Babylon, and the full settling of the Jewish church again in Judea by Ezra and Nehemiah, there arose two parties of men among them; the one, [p] who, adhering to the written word, held, that in the observance of that alone they fulfilled all righteousness, and therefore thought this alone sufficient to entitle them to the name of *Zadikim*, i. e. *the righteous*: the other, [q] who, over and above the written law, superadded the traditional constitutions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which, by way of supererogation, they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and therefore, from hence being reckoned of a superior degree of holiness above the others, they were called *Chasidim*, that is, *the pious*, who are the same that are mentioned [r] in the Maccabees by the name of [s] Assidæans. From the former of these proceeded the Samaritans, the Sadducees, and the Karraites; and from the latter, the Pharisees and the Essenes; of all which I shall treat in their order.

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[o] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18.

[p] Vide Grotii Comment. in 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

[q] Grotius, ibid. Scaliger. in Elencho Trihæres. c. 22.

[r] 1 Maccab. ii. 42. & vii. 13.

[s] The word is written with the Hebrew letter *Cheth*, which is sometimes rendered by *Ch* as in Chasidim, sometimes by an aspirate, as in Hebron, and sometimes it is wholly left out, as here in the word Assidæans.

I. The Samaritans were no more at first than [t] a mongrel sort of Heathens, who worshipped the God of Israel only in an idolatrous manner, and in conjunction with their other deities, and so continued, till Manasseh, with other fugitive Jews, coming to them from Jerusalem, brought with them the book of the law, and out of it taught them to reject all idolatry, and worship the true God only, according to the Mosaical institution; and, from the time that they became thus reformed, they may truly be reckoned a sect of the Jewish religion. But, I having treated of them already in the sixth book of the first part of this history, to refer the reader thither is all that I need further say of them in this place.

II. The Sadducees at the first were no more than what the Karraites are now, that is, they would not receive the traditions of the elders, but stuck to the written word only. How these traditions grew among the Jews, I have [u] already given a full account; and the Pharisees being the grand promoters of them, hence they and the Sadducees became sects directly opposite to each other. And, as long as the Sadducees opposed them no further than in this matter only, they were in the right; but afterward they imbibed other doctrines, which rendered them a sect thoroughly impious: For,

1st, They [x] denied the resurrection of the dead, the being of angels, and all existences of the spirits or souls of men departed. For [y] their notion was, that there is no spiritual being but God only; that, as to man, this world is his all; that, at his death, body and soul die together, never to live more; and that therefore there is no future reward or punishment. They acknowledged that God made this world by his power, and governs it by his providence: and, for the carrying on of this government, hath ordained rewards and punishments, but they are in this world only: and for this reason alone was it, that they worshipped him, and paid obedience to his laws. In sum, they were Epicurean Deists in all other respects, excepting only, that they allowed that God made the world by his power, and governs it by his providence. The Talmudic story of Sadoc, the scholar of Antigonus of Socho, tells us, how they came to fall into this impiety, and that from this Sadoc they had the name of Sad-

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[t] 2 Kings xvii. 33. [u] Part I. book 5.
[x] Matthew xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Acts xxiii. 8.
[y] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

ducees. This being [z] above fully related, I need not here again repeat it. But, I must confess, Talmudic stories are but of very little credit with me. When John Hyrcanus deserted the sect of the Pharisees, and went over to the Sadducees, no [a] other alteration is mentioned then to have been made by him in that change, but his rejecting and annulling all the traditional constitutions of the Pharisees, which makes it probable, that the Sadducees were at that time gone no further in the tenets of their sect, than to the denying of these constitutions. And, moreover, Hyrcanus having [b] the character of a just and religious prince, and all his actions speaking him such, it is not likely that he should embrace so impious a doctrine as that of denying the resurrection and a future state, especially when he was going into that state: (for it was in the latter end of his life that this was done.) All which put together, give good reason to suppose, that this impiety had not then infected this sect. Whenever it was introduced among them, thus much we may be assured of, that vice and wickedness were the only causes of its birth; and, wherever it is elsewhere found, it always hath the same parents. When men live such lives, that they cannot give God an account of them, they greedily lay hold of any scheme, how false and foolish soever, that shall exempt them from it. Epicurus' brag was, that he had delivered the world from the fear of the gods. And to lay asleep the conscience, and deliver men's minds from the fear of God and his judgments, so as to be at liberty to sin on without reluctancy or regret, is the only reason that makes any to be Epicurus' disciples. And it is most likely, that this impiety among the Jews had the same original. Under the Asmonean princes, the Jews grew prosperous, powerful, and rich, and their riches produced great luxury and vice; and to free their consciences from the fear of a future accounting for the enormities which grew up from this root, was the true cause that introduced this doctrine against a future state among them. And this is confirmed by what Josephus writes of this sect: for [c] he tells us, that they were men of quality and riches only that were of it. But, since the generality of learned men admit the Talmudic story above mentioned concerning the first intro-

[z] Part II. book 1.
[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18.
[b] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 3.
[c] Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. & lib. 18. c. 2.

duction of this doctrine among them by Sadoc, the disciple of Antigonus of Socho, I will enter into no further contest about it; but, having offered my conjectures to the contrary, I leave it to the reader to make his judgment about it as he shall see cause.

2. The Sadducees not only rejected all unwritten traditions, but also [d] all the written word, excepting only that of the five books of Moses. And, if it be true what the Talmudic story above mentioned relates, that Sadoc, on his first venting of his doctrine against a future state, was forced, for the impiety of it, to flee to the Samaritans for refuge; perchance he might learn this part of his heresy from them: for they admitted only the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other parts of holy scripture, as well the prophets as the hagiographa. But it seems most probable, that the Sadducees rejected these books because they found them inconsistent with their doctrine. There are many places in the prophets, and the hagiographa, which plainly and undeniably prove a future state, and the resurrection from the dead; and therefore having embraced the doctrine of denying both, they did, what usually all heretics do, that is, reject, right or wrong, whatsoever did make against them. Some learned men, and among them [e] Scaliger for one, hold, that they did not reject the other scriptures, but only gave a preference above them to the five books of Moses. But the account which is given in the gospels of the disputation which Christ [f] had with the Sadducees, plainly proves the contrary. For, seeing there are so many texts in the prophets and hagiographa, which plainly and directly prove a future state, and a resurrection from the dead; no other reason can be given, why Christ waved all these proofs, and drew his argument only by consequence from what is said in the law; but that he knew they had rejected the prophets and the hagiographa, and therefore would admit no argument, but from the law only. Their agreeing with the Samaritans in rejecting all traditions, and in receiving no other scriptures, than the five books of Moses only, hath given an handle to the Jews, to load the Samaritans with the imputation of agreeing with them also in the denial of a fu-

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[d] Vide Grotium in Matth. xxii. 23. Drusum de tribus Sectis Judæorum, lib. 3. c. 9. Lightfoot, vol. 2. p. 1278. qui probat hoc ex Tertulliano, Hieronymo, aliisque.

[e] Elench. Trihæres. c. 16. Luke xx.

[f] Matthew xxii. Mark xii.

ture state, and the resurrection from the dead, whereas, in this article, the Samaritans are sounder than the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

3. The third point of the Sadducees heresy, was [g] about free-will and predestination. For, whereas the Essenes held all things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable concatenation of causes never to be varied from, and the Pharisees allowed a free will in conjunction with predestination, the Sadducees, differing from both, [h] denied all manner of predestination whatever, their doctrine being, that God had made man absolute master of all his actions, with a full freedom to do either good or evil, as he shall think fit to choose, without any assistance to him for the one, or any restraint upon him as to the other; so that, whether a man doth good or evil, it is wholly from himself, because he hath it absolutely in his own power, both to do the one and avoid the other. In sum, they held the same among the Jews that Pelagius did afterwards among the Christians, that is, that there is no help from God, either of his preventing grace, or his assisting grace; but, that without any such help, every man hath in himself full power to avoid all the evil which the law of God forbids, and to do all the good which it commands. And therefore, looking on all men to have this power in themselves, it is remarked of them, that, [i] whenever they sat in judgment upon criminals, they always were for the severest sentence against them. And indeed their general character was, [k] that they were a very ill-natured sort of men, churlish and morose in their behaviour to each other, but cruel and savage to all besides. [l] Their number was the fewest of all the sects of the Jews; but they were men of the best quality, and the greatest riches among them. And it is too often found, that those who abound most in the things of this world, are the forwardest to neglect and disbelieve the promises of a better. All those that were of the greatest power and riches among the Jews, being cut off in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this whole sect seems then to have perished with them. For we find no mention made of them, as a sect in being, for many ages after, till their name

[g] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.
[h] Joseph. ibid. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.
[i] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. c. 8.
[k] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.
[l] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. & lib. 18. c. 2.

was revived again in the Karraites, which is the next sect of the Jews that I am to give an account of.

III. These Karraites, though, in the way of reproach, they are called Sadducees by the other Jews, yet agree with them in nothing else but in rejecting all traditions, and adhering only to the written word. Here indeed the Sadducees first began, but afterwards went further into those impious doctrines above described, which the Karraites have not. For in all other matters they agree with the other Jews, neither do they absolutely reject all traditions, but only refuse to allow them the same authority as they do to the written word. They are content to admit them as the opinions of the former doctors, as human helps for the interpreting and the better understanding of the written word, as far as they shall find them conducive thereto, but not to equal them to the written word itself, which all the other Jews do. For, as to these other Jews, I have shewn in the former part of this history, how they hold, that, besides the written law, there was also given to Moses from Mount Sinai, an oral law of the same authority with the former; under this latter they comprehend all their traditions, and therefore think themselves under the same obligation to observe them, as the written word itself, or rather a greater. For they observe not the written word any otherwise than as interpreted by their traditions. And therefore, having, in process of time, gathered all these traditions into that voluminous book called their *Talmud*, they required the same deference and veneration to be paid that book as to the holy scriptures themselves, founding all their articles of faith upon its dictates, and regulating their practice in all things according to the directions and precepts that are therein. This book was published about the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. But, when it came to be scanned and examined by such as were men of sense and judgment among them, they not being able to conceive how such trash, nonsense, and incredible fables as they found heaped up therein, could come from God, were so shocked hereby, that they could not give up their faith to it; but, reserving that wholly for the written word of God, (*i. e.* the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa,) received the other

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* Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2112, 2113, &c. Morini Exercitationes Biblicas, lib. 2. exercit. 7. Hottingeri Thesaurum, p. 40. Drusium de Tribus Judæorum Sectis, lib. 3. c. 15. Scaligeri Elenchum Trihæres. c. 2.

only as a work of human composure, to be used only as an help for the interpreting and explaining the written word in such passages of it where it should be found conducive thereto; and, for some time, their dissent on this point went on without making any breach or schism among them, till about the year of our Lord 750. But then Anan, a Jew of Babylonia, of the stock of David, and Saul his son, both learned men in their way, having openly declared for the written word only, and publicly disclaimed and condemned all manner of traditions, excepting such alone as agreed therewith, this forthwith produced a rent and schism among them, so that they became divided into two parties, the one standing up for the Talmud and its traditions, and the other rejecting and disowning both, as containing, in their opinion, the inventions of men, and not the doctrines and commands of God. Those who stood up for the Talmud, and its traditions, being chiefly the Rabbies and their scholars and followers; hence this party had the name of Rabbinists, and the other being for the scriptures only, which, in the Babylonish language, is called *Kara*, from hence they had the name of the Karraites, which is as much as to say, Scripturarians; under which two names the controversy was thenceforth carried on between them, and so continues even to this day. The Jews [n] tell us, that the cause of this schism, was wholly from the ambition and disgust of Anan; that being put by from the degree of [o] *Gaon*, and also at another time from being chosen [p] *Echmolatarch*, or head of the captivity at Babylon, to which he had a pretence, as being of the seed of David, to be revenged for these two repulses, they say, he made this division among the people. This sect is still in being, and those that are of it are men [q] of the best learning and the best probity of all the Jewish nation. There

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[n] R. Abraham Ben David in Cabbala Hist. Zacutus in Juchasin. David Gantz in Zemach David.

[o] *Gaon* was a title to which their highest doctors were in those times promoted.

[p] The *Echmolatarch* was the head of the captivity in Babylonia, and the same in that province that the *Alabarcha* was in Alexandria, that is, one chosen among the Jews to whom they submitted to be judged, and governed according to their law. And such a one they had over them here in England under the first Norman kings, who was licensed by them for this office, by the name of *Episcopus Judæorum*. See Selden's Marmora Arundeliana.

[q] Scalig. in Elencho Trihæres. c. 7.

are very few of them, if any at all, in these western parts. The most of them are to be found in Poland, Russia, and the eastern countries. In the middle of the last century there was an account then of their numbers, whereby it appears, that [r] there were taken of them in Poland 2000, at Caffa in Tartaria Crimæa 1200, at Cairo 300, at Damascus 200, at Jerusalem 30, in Babylonia 100, in Persia 600. But all these put together, make but a small number in respect of the great bulk of those that are on the other side. They [s] read the scriptures and their liturgies every where, both publicly and privately, in the language of their country in which they dwell. At Constantinople they have them in Greek, at Caffa in Turkish, in Persia in the Persian language, and in Arabic in all places where Arabic is spoken as the vulgar tongue.

IV. But [t] the greatest sect of the Jews was that of the Pharisees. For they had not only the scribes, and all the learned men in the law of their party, but they also drew after them [t] all the bulk of the common people. They differed from the Samaritans in that, besides the law, they received the prophets, the hagiographa, and the traditions of the elders; and from the Sadducees, not only in these particulars, but also in their doctrines about a future state, and the resurrection of the dead, and about predestination and free-will.

For, as to the first of these, it is said in scripture, That, [u] *whereas the Sadducees say, that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, the Pharisees confess both;* that is, 1st, that there is to be a resurrection from the dead; and 2dly, that there are angels and spirits. But, according to Josephus, [x] this resurrection of theirs was no more than a Pythagorean resurrection, that is, a resurrection of the soul only by its transmigration into another body, and being born a-new with it. But from this resurrection they excluded all that were notoriously wicked. For of such their notion was, that their souls, as soon as separated from their bodies, were transmitted into a state of everlasting woe, there to suffer the punishment of their sins to all eternity. But, as to lesser crimes, their opinion was, that they were punished in the bodies, which the souls of those that

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[r] Hottinger. in Thesauro Philologico Interaddenda, p. 583.

[s] Hottinger. ibid.

[t] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. & c. 18. & lib. 17. c. 4. & lib. 18. c. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

[u] Acts xxiii. 8. [x] De Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

committed them were next sent into. And according to this notion was it, that Christ's disciples asked him, in the case of the man that was born blind, [y] *Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?* For this plainly supposeth an antecedent state of being, otherwise it cannot be conceived, that a man could sin before he was born. And, when the disciples told Christ, [z] that some said of him that he was Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets; this can be understood no otherwise, but that they thought, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, that he was come into the world with the soul of Elias, or of Jeremias, or of some other of the old prophets transmitted into him, and born with him. These two instances put together, plainly prove what Josephus saith, that is, that the resurrection held by the Jews in those times was no other than a Pythagorean resurrection of the same soul in another body. But when Christ came, who brought life and immortality to light, he first taught the true resurrection of the same body and soul together, and soon after the Jews learned it from his followers, and, ever since, have taught it in the same manner as they did. For all their books now extant, speak of the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment thereon to follow, no otherwise in the main particulars, than as the Christians do.

As to what the Pharisees held of predestination and free-will, it is hard to say what their doctrine was as to this matter. For, according to [a] Josephus, they held absolute predestination with the Essenes, and free-will with the Sadducees, jumbled both together. For they ascribed to God and fate all that is done, and yet left to man the freedom of his will. But how they made these two apparent incompatibles consist together, is no where sufficiently explained; perchance they meant no more than that every man freely chooseth what he is unalterably predestinated to. But if he be predestinated to that choice, how freely soever he may seem to choose, certainly he hath no free-will, because he is, according to this scheme, unalterably necessitated to all that he doth, and cannot possibly choose otherwise.

But the main distinguishing character of this sect was, their zeal [b] for the traditions of the elders, which they derived

[y] John ix. 2. [z] Matthew xvi. 14.

[a] Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. & lib. 18. c. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. & lib. 18. c. 2.

from the same fountain with the written word itself, pretending both to have been delivered to Moses from Mount Sinai; and therefore they ascribed equally to both the same authority. How these traditions had their rise after the time of Ezra, I have already [c] shewn. This sect of men (who made it their main business to propagate them, and promote their observance) had its birth at the same time with them; and they grew up together, till, at length, they came to such a maturity and ascendency, that the traditional law [d] swallowed up the written law, and these who were the propagators of it, the whole bulk of the Jewish nation. These men, [e] by reason of their pretences to a more nice and rigorous observance of the law, according to their traditions, which they had superadded to it, looked on themselves as more holy than other men; and therefore separated themselves from those whom they thought sinners, or profane, so as [f] not to eat or drink with them; and hence, from the Hebrew word *Pharas*, which signifies *to separate*, [g] they had the name of Pharisees, which is as much as to say *separatists*. And although their chiefest separation was from the common people, whom they called *Am Haaretz*, i. e. *The people of the earth*, and reckoned them no other than as the dung thereof; yet, by reason of their hypocritical pretences to greater righteousness than others in the observance of the law, they [h] drew the common people after them, they being above all others in their high esteem and veneration. This hypocrisy our Saviour frequently chargeth them with; [i] as also of their making the law of God of none effect by their traditions. Several of these traditions he particularly mentioned and condemned, as appears in the gospels; but they had a vast number more. To go through them all would be to transcribe the Talmud, a book of 12 volumes in folio. For the whole subject of it is to dictate and explain all those traditions which this sect imposed to be received and

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[c] Part I. Book 5.

[d] Matth. xv. 1—6. Mark vii. 3, 4.

[e] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. c. 3. & lib. 18. c. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 1. c. 4.

[f] Matth. ix. 2. Luke v. 30. & xv. 2.

[g] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, 1851, 1852. Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 656. Drusius de tribus Sectis Judæorum, lib. 2. c. 2, & 3.

[h] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 18. & lib. 18. c. 2.

[i] Matth. xv. 6. & xxiii. 13—33. Luke xi. 39—52.

observed. And although many of them are very absurd and foolish, and most of them very burdensome and heavy to be borne, yet this sect hath devoured all the rest, they having had for many ages none to oppose them among that people, saving only these few Karraites I have mentioned. For, excepting them only, the whole nation of the Jews, from the destruction of the temple, to this present time, have wholly gone in unto them, and received all their traditions for divine dictates, and to this day observe them with much greater regard and devotion than the written word itself. So that they have in a manner, for the sake of their traditions, annulled all the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, and set up the Talmud to be their Bible in its stead. For this they now make to be the whole rule of their faith and manners: so that it is now only according to the traditions of the Pharisees, not according to the law and the prophets, that the present Jewish religion is wholly formed; whereby they have corrupted the old Jewish religion, just in the same manner as the Romanists have the Christian.

In conjunction with the Pharisees, the scribes are often mentioned in the scriptures of the New Testament. But they were not a sect, but a profession of men following literature. They were of divers sorts. For generally, all that were any way learned among the Jews, were in the time of our Saviour and his apostles called scribes; but especially those, who, by reason of their skill in the law and divinity of the Jews, were advanced to sit in Moses' seat, and were either judges in their [k] sanhedrims, or teachers in their schools or synagogues. They [l] were mostly of the sect of the Pharisees, most of the learning of the Jews, in those times, lying in their Pharasaical traditions, and their way of interpreting (or, we may rather say, wresting) the scriptures by them. And they being the men that dictated the law both of church and state, hence lawyers and scribes are convertible terms in the gospels, and both of them do there signify the same sort of men. For the same person who in Matth. xxii. 35. is called a lawyer, is in Mark xii. 28. said to be one of the scribes.

V. But how rigorous soever the Pharisees pretended to be in their observances, the Essenes outdid them herein. For, being originally of the same sect with them, they reformed

[k] There were two sorts of sanhedrims among the Jews, one of 23 persons in every city, and one for the whole nation of 72 persons sitting at Jerusalem.

[l] Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

upon them, in the same manner as, among the Romanists, the Carthusians and the Cistertians have upon the Benedictines, and did set up for a much more severe, and, perchance, for a much more unblamable rule of living, than the other did. [m] As to fate and free-will, their opinion was for an absolute predestination, agreeable to what is held by the Supralapsarians of the present age, without allowing to man any free-will at all, or any liberty of choice in any of his actions. And, as to the other grand point of a future state, and the resurrection from the dead, they also differed from the Pharisees herein: for, although they allowed the former, they denied the latter, their doctrine being [n] that the souls of men, after their death, are transmitted into a state of immortality, therein to live in everlasting bliss, or in everlasting woe, according as their actions have deserved, without ever any more returning either to their own or any other bodies for ever. Although our Saviour very often censured all the other sects then among the Jews, yet he never spake of the Essenes; neither is there any mention of them through the whole scriptures of the New Testament. This proceeded, some think, from their retired way of living; for, their abode being mostly in the country, they seldom came into cities, nor were they in our Saviour's time ever seen at the temple, or in any public assembly; and therefore, not falling in the way of our Saviour's observation, for this reason, say they, he took no notice of them: but it is much more likely, it was, that, being a very honest and sincere sort of people, without guile or hypocrisy, they gave no reason for that reproof and censure which the others very justly deserved. Their way of living was very peculiar and remarkable. To give the reader a thorough view of it, the best way will be, to lay it before him in the words of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, who are the ancientest authors that speak of this sect, and from whom all else is taken, that is said of it. The words of Josephus concerning the Essenes are as follow.

"[o] The Essenes are Jews by nation, and a society of men friendly to each other, beyond what is to be found among any other people; they have an aversion to pleasure in the same manner as to that which is truly evil. To live continently,

[m] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9. & lib. 18. c. 2. & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

[n] Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. c. 12.

[o] Josephus ibid. lib. 2. c. 7.

and keep their passions in subjection, they esteem a virtue of the first rate. Marriage they have in no esteem, but, taking other men's children, while they are yet tender and susceptible of any impression, they treat them as if they were of their own flesh and blood, and carefully breed them up in the institutions of their sect. However, they are not so absolutely against marriage in others; for that would be to take away the succession and race of mankind; but, being aware of the lasciviousness of women, they are persuaded that none of them can keep true faith to one man.

"They have riches in great contempt; and community of goods is maintained among them in a very admirable manner; for, not any one is to be found among them possessing more than another, it being a fixed rule of their sect, that every one who enters into it must give up all his goods into the public stock of the society; so that, among the whole number, none may be found lower than another by reason of his poverty, or any on the other side elated above the rest by his riches. For, every man's goods being cast into common, they are all enjoyed as one possession among brethren in the same family for each man's use.

"They look on it as a disparagement [p] to make use of oil; so that, if any one of them should happen to be anointed against his will, they wipe it off immediately, and cleanse their body from it; for, not to be nice in the care of themselves, they esteem as a commendable thing: and they always go habited in white garments.

"They have stewards chosen for the management of their common stock, who in common provide for all, according as every man hath need. They do not all live together in one city, [q] but in every city some of them dwell. These give reception to all travellers of their sect, who eat and drink with them as freely as of their own, going in unto them,

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[p] Anointing with oil was much in use in the East in those times, especially after the use of the bath; and those who were most delicate anointed themselves with perfumed oil: but the Essenes rejected all anointing as effeminate.

[q] By what is after said, they seem to have been distributed into sodalites, and to have, in every place where they dwelt, one or more of those sodalites, according to their number; and within these sodalites to have lived together according to all the rules of their order, that is, every one in that sodality to which he belonged.

though they never saw them before, in the same manner as if they had been of their long acquaintance; and therefore, when they take a journey any where, they carry nothing with them but arms for their defence against thieves. In every city they have one principal person of their society appointed procurator, to take care of all strangers that come thither of that sect, who provideth them with clothes and all other necessaries that they shall be in want of. Their garb and gesture of body is always such as resembles that of children under the fear and discipline of their masters. They never change their clothes or shoes, till they be worn out and made unfit by time for any further use. They neither sell nor buy any thing among themselves, but every one gives of that which he hath to him that wanteth; and, on like occasion, again receives, in return hereto, whatsoever, the other hath that he stands in need of: and, although there be no such retribution, yet it is free for every one to take, of whomsoever of the sect he shall think fit, all whatsoever he stands in want of.

"They are, in what pertaineth to God, in an especial manner religious: for, before the sun be risen, they speak of no common worldly matter, but, till then, offer up unto God their prayers in ancient forms, received from their predecessors, supplicating particularly in them, that he would make the sun to rise upon them. After this, they are sent by their superiors [r] each to work in the employments they are skilled in; wherein they having diligently laboured till the fifth hour (that is, till 11 in the morning,) they then assemble again in one place together; and each having a linen garment to put about him, they wash themselves in cold water; after this lustration, they go into a private room, where no one that is not of their sect is permitted to enter. And, being thus purified, they go into the refectory, or dining-room, with the same behaviour, as into an holy temple; where, being set in silence, the baker lays before every man his loaf of bread; and the cook, in like manner, serves up to each of them his dish, all of the same sort of food. The priest then says grace before meat; and it is not lawful for any to taste the least bit before grace be said, and after dinner they say grace again; and thus they always begin and

[r] Thus the old British monks of Bancour in Wales were all maintained by the daily labour of their own hands. See Bede's Ecclesiastical History, lib. 2 c. 2.

end their meal, with praise and thanksgiving to God, as the giver of their food. After this, they quit the habits which they last put on, looking on them as in some measure sacred, and then again betake themselves each man to his work till the evening; when returning again to the same place, they take their supper in the same manner as they had their dinner, their guests sitting at meal with them, if so it happen that there are any such then present in the place. No noise or tumult ever disorders the house where they are; for, when they are met together, they speak only as each is allowed his turn. This silence appears to others who are not of their sect, as a thing of venerable and sacred regard. All this is the effect of a constant course of sobriety, in their moderating their eating and drinking only to the end of sufficing nature.

"Although, in all other matters, they do nothing without the allowance of their superiors, yet in two cases, that is, in offices of assistance and in offices of mercy, they are permitted to have free power each man to do as he shall see cause for it: for to yield assistance to those that are worthy of it whenever they stand in need thereof, and to be charitable in giving food to the poor that want it, is what is allowed to all of them with full liberty; but to give any thing to their relations, without the consent and allowance of their governors, is utterly forbidden among them.

"They dispense their anger with justice, and are great curbers of their passions, steady keepers of their faith, constant labourers for peace; and every word with them is of greater force than an oath with other men. They avoid taking any oath at all, looking on it as worse than perjury. They say, he is already condemned as a faithless person who is not to be believed without calling God to witness. They are in an extraordinary manner studious of the writings of the ancients, selecting out of them such things especially as are beneficial either to the bodies or souls of men. Hence, in order to the cure of diseases, the nature of medicinal roots and property of stones are searched into by them.

"When any desire to enter into their sect, they are not immediately admitted, but are kept *without* a whole year, during which time they put all of them that are of this class of *novices* under the same discipline, or rule of living, giving to each of them a small pick-axe, the linen garment above mentioned, and a white suit of clothes. After they have, during all this time, given thorough proof of their continence

and temperance, they are received into a nearer conversation and rule of life with them, and partake of their holier water for their purification. However, they are not admitted as yet to their common table, and full fellowship with them; but, after their having given this proof of their continence for one year, they make trial of their manners for two years longer, and then, if they appear worthy, they give them full admission into their society.

But, before they are admitted to eat at the common table, they strictly bind themselves, by solemn vows, first to worship and serve God; and next, that in all things to do that which is just towards men; not willingly to wrong any one, no, not though he should be commanded so to do; always to detest wicked men, and to side with and help all those that are just and good; ever to keep faith inviolable with all men, especially with princes (for no one comes to have rule and government over us but by God's appointment.) That, if it shall happen that they be called to any station of government, they will not abuse their power to the wronging of any under them, nor distinguish themselves from them by their habit or more splendid dress of apparel; always to love truth, and to convince and reprove all that are liars; to keep their hands from stealing, and to keep their minds clear from the taint of any unjust gain; that they will not conceal from any of the society the mysteries of their sect, nor communicate them to any other, no, not though they should be forced to it for the saving of their lives. And, moreover, they further vow, to deliver to none of their brethren any of their doctrines otherwise than as they have received them; to abstain from all theft, and to [s] preserve with equal care the books containing the doctrines of their sect, and the names of the messengers by whose hands they were written and conveyed to them. And by such vows do they bind and secure all those that enter into their society to be ever steady and firm to all the laws and rules of it.

"Such as they find guilty of any enormous crime they expel out of the society. And those who fall under this sentence often perish by a most lamentable death: for they are so bound up by the laws of that society, and the vows which they have made to keep them, that they cannot receive any food but from those of their sect; so that they are forced,

[s] Συντηρειν ομοιως τατε τη αιρεσει αυτων βιβλια κ τα των Αγγελων ονοματα.

when thus expelled, to feed like beasts on the herbs of the field, till, their bodies being consumed for want of nourishment, they are famished to death: wherefore, often commiserating their case, they have received them again, when ready to expire, thinking that they have suffered punishment enough for their crimes, when thus brought by it even to the gates of death.

"In their administration of justice, they are the most exact and just: they never give sentence but when there are 100 at least present, and what is then decreed by them remains irrevocable. Next to God, they have the highest veneration for their legislators, making it no less than death to speak evil of them. To yield to the sentiments of their elders, and submit to what is determined by the major part of their people, they hold to be a thing commendable, and what ought to be done. When any ten of them sit together, no one of them speaks but with the consent of the other nine. When they are in any company, they are carefully to avoid spitting into the middle before them, or on the right hand.

"In abstaining from all manner of work on the Sabbath day, they distinguish themselves above all other Jews. For they do not only make ready their Sabbath-day's meal the eve before, that they may not do as much as kindle a fire on that day, but also tie themselves up so strictly to the observance of it, that they do not then dare move a vessel out of its place, or so much as [t] go to stool for the ease of nature. On all other days, when they ease themselves, they dig a pit of a foot deep with an iron instrument which they always carry about with them) that is the small pick-axe, which is above mentioned, to be given to all their novices,) and then, encompassing their lower parts carefully with their garment, that they may not offer any injury or offence to the divine splendor, they set themselves over the said pit, and so discharge themselves into it, and then cover it over with the earth afore digged out of it. And this they always do, choosing the secretest places for it. And, although this be no more than

[t] What was commanded the Jews while in the camp, Deut. xxii. 12, 13. these Essenes thought to be always obligatory upon them in all places; and therefore, thinking they ought not to do so much work on that day as to dig the pit there commanded, they never on that day went to stool, but abstained from it till the next day, how much soever nature called for ease in that case.

the natural voiding of bodily excrements, yet it is their usage to wash themselves after it, as after some great pollution.

"They are divided, according to the time that they have been in this ascetic manner of life, into four different classes, one above another; and every one of a senior class thinks all of the inferior classes so much beneath him, that, if he happen to touch any one of them, he washeth after it in the same manner as if he had touched one of another nation. They are long livers, so that many of them arrive to the age of 100 years; which is to be ascribed to their simple and plain manner of feeding, and the temperance and good order which they observe in that and in all things else.

"They are contemners of adversity, and overcome all sufferings by the greatness of their mind; insomuch, that they esteem death itself, when it is to be undergone on an honourable account, better than immortality. Of the firmness of their mind in all cases, the war which we had with the Romans hath given sufficient proof; in which though they were tortured, racked, burned, had their bones broken, and were made to undergo the sufferings of all the instruments of torments, that they might thereby be brought to speak ill of their lawgiver, and eat of those meats that are prohibited, yet they always stood firmly out to do neither of them; neither did they ever endeavour to mollify or appease the rage of their tormentors towards them, or shed one tear in their sufferings; but laughed while under their torments, and, mocking those who were the executioners of them, cheerfully yielding up their souls in death, as firmly believing, that after that they should live in them for ever.

"For this opinion is delivered among them, that the bodies of men are mortal, and that the substance of them is not permanent, but that their souls, being immortal, remain for ever; that, coming out of the subtilest and purest air, they are enveloped and bound up in their bodies, as in so many prisons, being attracted to them by certain natural allurements; but that, after they get out of those corporal bonds, being as it were freed from a long servitude, do rejoice thereon, and are carried aloft. And they affirm, agreeable to the opinion of the Greeks, that, for the souls of good men, there is ordained a state of life in a region beyond the ocean, which is never molested, either with showers, or snow, or raging heats, but is ever refreshed with gentle gales of wind constantly breathing from the ocean: but to the souls of the wicked they assign a dark and cold place for their abode,

filled with punishments that will never cease. And it seems to be according to the same notion that the Greeks assign to their valiant men, whom they call *heroes* and *demigods*, the fortunate island for their habitation; but to the souls of wicked men, the regions of the impious in hell. And hence it is, that they have devised their fables of several there punished, as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, laying down, in the first place, that the souls of men do live for ever, and next applying this doctrine for the encouragement of virtue and the discouragement of vice and wickedness. For good men are made better in their lives by the hopes of honour for the reward of it after death, and evil men are restrained from the impetuosity of their course in wickedness by fear, while they expect, that, though their evil deeds escape observation in this life, yet after death they must undergo everlasting punishments for them. This is the divinity which the Essenes teach concerning the soul, proposing thereby a bait of inevitable allurement to all that have tasted of their doctrine.

"There are some of this sect who take upon them to foretel things to come, being bred up from their childhood in the study of their sacred books, and the sayings of the prophets, and also in the use of various purifications to qualify them for it; and it is very seldom found, that they fail in what they foretel.

"And there are another sort of Essenes, who, in their way of living, and in the usages and rules of their orders, exactly agree with the others, excepting only that they differ from them in their opinion about marriage. For they reckon, that those that do not marry cut off a great part from the number of the living, that is, out of the succession of the next generation, especially if all should be of their mind; for then the whole race of mankind would soon be extinguished. But, of those women whom they marry, they make trial for the term of three years before they contract with them; and if, through all that time, they find, by the constant regular order of their natural courses, that they are of health fit to bear children, they then marry them; but they never lie with them after they are found to be with child, shewing thereby, that they do not marry to gratify lust, but only for the sake of having children. When their women go to wash themselves, they have the like linen garment to put about them, which is above mentioned to be given to the men for the same purpose. And such are the usages and manners of this sect."

Thus far Josephus, in his book of the wars of the Jews. In his book of their Antiquities, which he wrote some years after the former, he says further of them as followeth. "[u] Among the Jews there have been three sorts of sects from times of old; the Essenes, and the Sadducees, and the third sect, which are called Pharisees. The doctrine of the Essenes ascribes to God the ordering and governing of all things. They teach, that the souls of men are immortal. They hold, that the attainment of righteousness and justice is to be endeavoured after above all things. They send their gifts to the temple, but they offer no sacrifices there, by reason of the different rules of purity which they have instituted among themselves; and therefore, being excluded the common temple, they sacrifice apart by themselves; otherwise, they are, in their manners and course of life, the best of men. They employ themselves wholly in the labour of agriculture. Their righteousness is worthy of admiration above all others that pretend to virtue, in which they do by no means give place to any, whether Greeks or Barbarians, no, not in the least: they have been long under engagements never to be hindered by any thing in their diligent study and pursuit after it. Their goods are all in common, and he that is rich hath not the enjoyment of the things of his house any more than he that hath nothing at all. And they that live after this manner are in number about 4000 men. They neither marry wives, nor endeavour after the possession of servants; their opinion of the latter being, that it leads to injustice, by invading the common liberty of mankind, and of the other, that it gives matter for trouble and disturbance. Wherefore, living by themselves, they mutually make use of the service of each other. They choose good men out of the number of their priests to be the receivers of their incomes, and the managers of the fruits which their lands produce, for the providing of them with meat and drink."

There is also mention made of them by Josephus in another place, that is, in the 9th chapter of the 13th book of his Antiquities: but there he speaks only of their opinion about fate. His words in that place are, "That they hold, that fate governs all things, and that nothing happens to man but by its appointment."

Philo the Jew is the next, or indeed the first, that speaks of them. For he wrote before Josephus, being by much the

[u] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 2.

older of the two. For Josephus was not born till the first year of the reign of Caligula the Roman emperor, A. D. 37. whereas Philo was at that time advanced in years: for it was not much above two years after that Philo was sent as head of an embassy to that emperor from the Alexandrian Jews, as a person that, by his age and experience, was best qualified for that difficult undertaking. But Josephus being best acquainted with their sect, as having lived in Judea, and been there for some time [x] conversant among them, and under their discipline, was best qualified to write a true and exact account of them; and therefore I have begun with that which he hath given us. For Philo, being a Jew of Alexandria, knew nothing of the Essenes of Judea but what he had by hearsay: but with the Essenes of Egypt he was indeed much better acquainted. For, although the principal seat of them was in Judea, yet there were also of them in Egypt, and in all other places where the Jews were dispersed; and therefore Philo distinguished this sect into the Essenes of Judea and Syria, and the Essenes of Egypt and other parts. The first he called practical Essenes, and the other he calls therapeutic or contemplative; and of each he gives the accounts that follow.

"[y] Among the Jews who inhabit Palestine and Syria, there are some whom they call Essæans, being in number about [z] 4000 men, according to my opinion. They have their name by reason of their piety, from the Greek word Ὅσιος, which signifieth *holy*, though the derivation from thence be not made according to the exact rule of grammar. And, whereas they are most religious servers and worshippers of God, they do not sacrifice unto him any living creature, but rather choose to form their minds to be holy, thereby to make them a fit offering unto him. They chiefly live in country villages, avoiding cities, by reason of the vices that are familiar among citizens, being sensible, that, as the breathing in a corrupted air doth breed diseases, so the conversing with evil company often makes an incurable impression upon the souls of men.

"Some of them labour in husbandry; others follow trades of manufacture, confining themselves only to the making of such things as are the utensils of peace, endeavouring thereby to benefit both themselves and their neighbours. They do

[x] Josephus in Libro de Vita sua.

[y] Philo Judæus in libro cui titulus *Omnis Probis Liber*, p. 678. edit. col.

[z] Josephus agrees with him in the number. See above.

not treasure up either silver or gold, neither do they provide themselves with large portions of land out of a desire of plentiful revenues, but seek only after such things as are requisite for the supplying of the necessaries of life. They are in a manner the only persons of all mankind, who being without money, and without possessions, (and this by their own choice rather than by the want of good fortune,) yet reckon themselves most rich, judging their needing little, and their being contented with any thing, to be (as it really is) a great abundance. You shall not find any among their handicraftsmen that ever put an hand to the making of arrows, or darts, or swords, or head-pieces, or corslets, or shields, neither do any among them make any armour, or engines, or any other instruments whatsoever that are made use of in war, nay, they will not make such utensils of peace as are apt to be employed to do mischief.

"Merchandising, trafficking, and navigation, they never so much as dream of, rejecting them utterly as incitements to covetousness. There is no such thing as a servant among them, but they all mutually help and serve each other. They condemn the domination of masters over servants, not only as unjust and prejudicial to holiness, but also as impious, and destructive of the law of nature, which bringing forth, say they, and nourishing, all men alike in the same condition of life, as a common mother to all, hath made them all as brothers to each other, and this not only in word, but really and in deed; but that treacherous covetousness, overthrowing their kindred, hath produced strangeness instead of familiarity, and enmity instead of friendship.

"As to philosophy, logic they utterly relinquish to such as quarrel about words, reckoning it as useless for the attainment of virtue. And natural philosophy, and all the points thereof, (excepting only so much as concerns the being of God, and the original production of all things,) they leave to those who have time to spare to treat of such matters, reckoning it to be above the power of man to attain to a true knowledge of them. But about ethics, or moral philosophy, they are much conversant, using therein the guidance and direction of their country laws, which are such as could never have come from the mind of man without a divine inspiration. Herein they instruct men as at other times, so especially on the seventh day. For the seventh day is held holy by them, on which they desist from all other work, going on that day to their sacred places, which they call synagogues, where they sit in

order, according to their seniority or standing in the society, the juniors taking place below their seniors, and all composing themselves with decency for the hearing of the word. Then one, taking the Bible, reads out of it; and then another, being one of the most skilful, doth expound what hath been so read, passing over what is above his knowledge. Their manner of expounding is mostly by parables, according to the way that hath been anciently in use among them. They are instructed in holiness, righteousness, justice, economy, politics, in the knowledge of what is truly good, and what is evil, and what is indifferent, what is proper for them to choose, and what, on the contrary, they ought to avoid. In which course they make use of three rules, judging of all things according as they accord, 1. with the love of God, 2. with the love of virtue, or, 3. with the love of their neighbour. Of their love to God they give a multitude of demonstrations; as, for instance, their constant and unalterable course of chastity their whole life through, their abstaining from all swearing, their never speaking a lie, and their always ascribing to God the cause of all good, and never making him the author of that which is evil. Of their love to virtue they give instances, in their not being covetous, in their not being ambitious, in their renouncing of pleasures, in their continence, in their patience, in their plainness, in their needing little, in their being content with any thing, in their modesty, in their reverence for the laws, in their stability of mind, and other such like virtues. And, lastly, of their love to their neighbour, they give instances in their benevolence, in their equal carriage to all, which is greater than can be well expressed, and in their holding all that they have in common; of which it will not be unseasonable here to speak a little.

"First, therefore, no man's house is properly his own, but every man of the sect, that shall come to it, hath an equal interest therein. For, as they live together in sodalities, eating and drinking at the same common table, so they there provide entertainment for all the fraternity that shall come thither to them from any other place. There is one common treasury belonging to them all, from whence the expences of clothes and provisions are furnished in common for all the community, according to the several sodalities into which they are distributed. Their way of cohabiting together under the same roof, of eating together of the same victuals, and sitting together at the same table, is such as is no where else to be

found thus established, or any thing [a] like it. What they gain by their daily labour, they keep not to themselves, but bring it all into the common stock, from whence provision is made for the use and common utility of all of the sect. And, if any among them fall sick, they do not neglect them, as such that can get nothing, but have all things that are necessary for the recovering of them again to their health always ready provided for them out of the common stock; so that they take hereof, with all freedom, as plentifully as they shall think fit. Great honour and reverence is paid to the elder men of the society by the juniors, who take care of them in such manner, as truly begotten children do of their parents, administering unto them, both with their hands and their counsels, with all plentifulness, whatsoever may be necessary for their comfortable support in their old age."

Thus far Philo, concerning those whom he calls practical Essenes. Of those whom he calls the contemplative, [b] he saith as followeth.

"Having spoken of the Essenes that lead a practical life, I come next to treat of those who embrace the contemplative. The men among them are called Therapeutæ, and the women Therapeutides, agreeable to their profession, either as they profess the art of physic, (not that commonly practised, whereby the bodies of men are cured, but a much more valuable physic, whereby they cure the souls of men of diseases much more obstinate, difficult, and harder to be removed, those which they have brought upon themselves by voluptuousness, concupiscence, grief, fears, covetousness, follies, injustice, and by an innumerable company of other passions and vices,) or else they have this name, because they have learned from the law of nature, and the sacred laws of the holy scriptures, [c] to worship and serve that Being, which is better than good, more uncompounded than the number of one, and more ancient than unity itself.

"They that enter into this therapeutic profession do not do it as led thereto by any prevailing custom, or by the persuasion of others, but, being wholly drawn to it by an heavenly

[a] The way of the Lacedemonians, in eating together at common tables, and in set companies, seems most like it. See Plutarch in the Life of Lycurgus.

[b] Philo de Vita Contemplativa, p. 688. edit. col. Allob.

[c] For the word Θεραπευτης signifieth a worshipper, or a servant, as well as a physician.

love, are under an enthusiastic impulse, in the same manner as the Bacchinals and Coryhantes, in the celebration of their festivals, till they have attained to this their desired state of contemplation; and thereon, as if they had done with this mortal life, through their desire after that which is immortal and ever blessed, they relinquish all their worldly goods and possessions to their sons or their daughters, or their other relations, delivering to them the inheritance thereof by a voluntary choice; and, if they have no relations, they then give them to their friends and acquaintance. And, when they have thus divested themselves of all their worldly substance, as being now no longer with-held by any enticement, they flee from their homes without any more looking back, leaving their brothers, their children, their wives, their parents, and all their kindred, how numerous soever, as also the society of their friends and countrymen, among whom they have been born and bred, because their conversation, should they still stay with them, would be a strong and powerful allurement to draw them away from this purpose.

"They do not leave one city, to go to another, like miserable or wicked servants, who, having obtained of those that own them to be sold to some other person, gain thereby only the change of masters, not the recovery of their liberty. For all cities, even those that are governed by the best laws, are full of tumult and trouble, which no one that hath addicted himself to this way of philosophy can afterwards bear. And therefore they rather choose to make their abode without the walls of cities, in gardens, and villages, and lone country habitations, seeking solitude, not out of an affected hatred to mankind, but for the avoiding of the mixing with men of different manners, knowing it to be unprofitable and hurtful.

"This sort of men are dispersed throughout many [d] parts of the world, (for it is requisite that both Greeks and Barbarians should partake of so excellent a benefit,) but Egypt abounds most with them throughout all its [e] provinces, but most of all about Alexandria. But from all places the principal men of them retire, as into their own proper country,

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[d] That is, wherever the Hellenistical Jews were dispersed among the nations of the world.

[e] These provinces were called Νομοι.

into a place which they have near the lake of [f] Maria, situated upon a gentle rising hill, very commodious for them, both for its convenience in affording them there a safe dwelling, and also for the wholesomeness of its air. The houses of those who were come together are built in a very frugal and mean manner, they having their covering fitted only for two necessary things, that is, to keep them from the heat of the sun in summer, and from the cold of the air in winter: neither are they built near each other, as in cities; for this would be irksome and displeasing to men desiring and seeking after solitude: neither are they far asunder, because they love at times to converse together, and also, that they may the easier unite for their mutual defence, if they should happen at any time to be invaded by thieves.

"Each of them hath in his cottage a little chapel, which they call *Semneum*, or *Monasterium*, in which every one of them doth, alone by himself, perform all the mysteries of an holy life, bringing in thither, at no time, either drink or meat, or any other of the necessaries used for the support of the body, but only the law and the divine oracles of the prophets, and hymns, and such other like things, whereby knowledge and piety are increased and perfected. They have God in perpetual remembrance, so that, even in their dreams, nothing else but the beauties and excellencies of divine powers run in their fancies, insomuch that several of them, while they sleep, do, in their dreams, deliver many excellent sayings of divine philosophy.

"Their constant usage is, to pray twice every day, that is in the morning and in the evening. At the rising of the sun, they pray that God would give his blessing upon the day, that true blessing whereby their minds may be filled with heavenly light; and, at the setting of the sun, that their minds, being wholly disburdened of their senses, and all sensible things, may, in its retirements into itself, find out truth. All the interval of time, from morning to evening, they spend in the study and contemplation of divine things. For, exercising themselves in the most holy scriptures, they philosophise upon them after their country manner, expounding them allegorically. For they suppose, that the words are only notes and

[f] This lake is called Mareotis by Ptolemy, and Marea by Strabo. It lies near Alexandria, being 30 miles broad, and 100 in circumference.

marks of some things of mystical nature, which are to be explained figuratively.

"They have among them the writings of some ancients, who, being principal leaders of their sect, have left them many monuments of that learning, which consists in dark and secret expressions, which they, using as original patterns, do imitate that way of study. And they do not only spend their time in contemplation, but they also compose songs and hymns in the praise of God, of all sorts of metre, and musical verses, which they write in grave and seemly rhymes.

"Six days of the week they thus continue apart by themselves in the little chapel above mentioned, and there give themselves wholly up to the contemplation of divine philosophy, without going out of doors, or as much as looking abroad all that time. On the seventh day, they meet together in a public solemn assembly, and there sit down together, according [g] to their seniority, in a decent manner, with both their hands under their garment, that is, their right-hand upon the part between their chin and their breast, and the left let down by their side. Then one of the best learned of them, standing forth, discourseth to them, with a grave composed countenance, and a grave serious voice, speaking with reason and prudence, and not making ostentation of eloquence, as the rhetoricians and sophists now do, but searching into and expounding all things, with that exactness of thought, as that it doth not only for the present captivate the ears, but, by being thus heard, enters into the soul, and there makes lasting impressions upon it. While this person thus speaks, all the rest give attention with silence, expressing their approbation only with the motions of their eyes and their head.

"The synagogue, or common place of assembly, where they meet every seventh day, hath [h] two distinct inclosures and apartments in it, the one assigned for the men, and the other for the women; for it is their custom, that the women that are of the same sect and institution should also be auditors in these assemblies. The partition wall which separates these two inclosures is built up three or four cubits high from the ground, after the manner of a parapet, the rest lies open

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[g] This they reckon according to the time of their admission into the society, not according to their age.

[h] The synagogues of the Jews are thus formed even to this day, their women sitting together in a place inclosed apart from the men.

to the top of the room. All which is thus contrived for the sake of two conveniences; the first to protect that decent modesty which is naturally belonging to the female sex; the other, that, while they sit in that auditory, they may easily hear what is there discoursed, nothing coming between to hinder the voice of him that speaketh from reaching to them.

"Having laid temperance as a certain foundation in their souls, they build thereupon all other virtues. They take neither meat nor drink before sun be set: for they hold it requisite to employ the day in the study of philosophy, and the night in the making of necessary provision for the body; so that they allot the whole day for the former, and only a small part of the night for the latter. Some of them, in whom is a more than ordinary thirst after knowledge, forget to take any sustenance for three [1] days together; and others there are who are so delighted and fed with feasting on wisdom, which gives to them of its doctrine richly and plentifully, that they sometimes hold out double the time, and, for six days together, scarce taste of any necessary food, being nourished, as they say a sort of grasshoppers are, by the air in which they live, the melody of their hymns, as I suppose, rendering the want of food easy and supportable unto them. They looking on the seventh day to be all holy and all festival, do think it worthy of extraordinary honour. On that day, after having first taken due care of their souls, they refresh and nourish their bodies, then relaxing to themselves their daily labour, as they do to their working cattle. They eat not any thing that is sumptuous or dainty, but only coarse bread; their sauce is only salt, and they that are of a nicer stomach mingle some hyssop with it; their drink is only water from the river. And thus they appease the two domineering mistresses which nature hath subjected all mankind to, that is, hunger and thirst, offering nothing to gratify them, but only what is necessary for the support of life; for they eat only to assuage hunger, and drink only to quench their thirst, avoiding fullness of stomach as that which is hurtful both to soul and body.

"And whereas there are two sorts of coverings for the body, that is, house and clothes; as to their houses, it hath been spoken to before, that they are mean, and built without art, as made only to serve the present necessary uses; so like-

[1] Philo seems here to hyperbolize, it not being possible that nature could be supported by such long fasts as for six days together, or three either.

wise, as to their clothes, they have only such as are most commodious to keep out cold and heat, they using for this purpose a thick coarse garment instead of furs in the winter, and a short coat without sleeves, or a linen vestment, in summer. They universally exercise themselves in modesty; and, looking on falsity to be the mother of arrogance, and truth to be the mother of modesty, they hold each of them to have the nature of a fountain; for there flow from falsity, say they, many various sorts of evils, and from truth abundance of good, both human and divine."

Thus far Philo of his contemplative Essæans. He hath afterwards a description of their behaviour at their great festivals; which being very long, should I give the whole of it, I should be too tedious to the reader; and I fear I have been too much so already concerning this matter. I shall therefore here only add an abstract of it as followeth.

These Therapeutæ, or contemplative Essæans, celebrate every [k] seventh Sabbath as a great festival, when, being called together by an officer appointed for this purpose, all of each congregation meet together in a common hall: for, they being divided into several distinct congregations, each congregation hath its distinct hall, in which they meet together on all such occasions. When they are come together on this call, being all in white garments, they range themselves in order with great gravity; and, after having said grace, sit down, taking their place each after other, according to the seniority of their admission into the sect. The men sit on the right-hand side of the hall by themselves, and the women by themselves on the other side: for these Essenes have women also among them of the elder sort, and such only as have been virgins from their youth. They are not attended on at their feasts by servants; for they have none such, looking on servitude to be against the law of nature; according to which, they say, all men are born free; and therefore they are ministered to in all things by freemen, such as are of the juniors of their society. Of these some being chosen for every ministration,

[k] The first great festival among the Jews is their passover; seven weeks numbered from thence brings them to their Pentecost, or feast of weeks; from thence this sect continued to number still seven weeks on, and every seventh Sunday was a new festival with them, till, by repeating it seven times over, they concluded the year, and then begun again from the passover the same round as before.

administer therein to the rest all manner of help and service, with the same care and affection as children do to their parents. These serve at the tables with their garments let down at their full length, and not girded up about them after the manner of servants, that so they may appear to minister as freemen, and not as slaves. At these feasts they drink no wine, but only pure water; those of the elder sort, who have weak stomachs, drink it warm, all the rest drink it cold. They eat no flesh, their repast being, as on other days, [1] only bread, salt, and hyssop. They abstain from wine, as reckoning it to be a sort of poison that leads men into madness, and from all plentiful fare, as that which breeds and irritates inordinate and beastly appetites in the mind. While they thus sit at meal, there is observed a most exact silence, none making the least noise; and, when they have done eating, one of them proposeth a question out of the holy writ, which another answers, imparting what he knows plainly, without affectation, or aiming at praise. All the rest are attentive to what is said, signifying only by signs, expressed by the motions of the head or the hand, their approbation or disapprobation of what is delivered. All these discourses are allegorical: for their notion is, that the scriptures have the similitude of a living man, which consists of body and soul; the literal sense, they say, resembles the body, and the mystical sense which lies under it, the soul; and in that the life of the whole consists: and therefore their study is to find out a mystical sense for every text delivered in the holy scriptures. The president determines when enough is said, and whether the question be fully answered or not, adding what he thinks proper further to discourse of on the point. Whereon, all applauding what he saith, he riseth up, and begins an hymn in the praise of God, composed either by himself or some of the ancients before him; and all the rest join with him herein. And thus they spend the afternoon in discoursing of divine things, and in singing of psalms and hymns, till supper time, and then the waiters bring in, for their supper, bread and salt, and hyssop, as before. After supper is over, they arise from table, and then dividing themselves into two companies, one of the men, and the other of the women, each chooseth their precentor, and spend the whole night following in singing of hymns in all sorts of metre and music to the praise of God, sometimes alternatively in

[1] Here Philo seems again to hyperbolize, it being scarce possible to support nature with such scanty and mean fare.

parts, and sometimes as in a chorus all together. And thus they continue doing till the morning light; on the appearance of which, turning their faces towards the rising sun, they pray unto God to give them an happy day and the light of truth. After which, breaking up the assembly, they all return each to his particular apartment, there to employ themselves either in contemplation or in the work of husbandry, in the same manner as before.

What Pliny saith of this sect, is what I am next to lay before the reader. The account which he gives of them, [m] is as followeth. "On the western side of the lake Asphaltites dwell the Essenes, seating themselves inwardly from it to avoid the shore as hurtful to them. They are the alone sort of men, and herein, above all others in the world, to be admired, that live without women, without the use of copulation, without money, feeding upon the fruit of the palm-tree. They are daily recruited by the resort of new comers to them, in a number equal to those they loose, many flocking to them whom the surges of ill-fortune having made weary of the world, do drive them to take shelter in their institution and manner of life. And thus for several thousands of years (it is incredible to be said,) this people is perpetually propagated without any being born among them, so fruitful and prolific unto them is the repentance of others as to their lives past."

Thus far I have given the several accounts of the three authors above mentioned concerning this sect, as far as I can make them plainly speak in the English language. Porphyry, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and several others of the ancients, have also spoken of them; but all that they have said on this subject being taken out of one of these three authors, who are the ancientest that have written hereof, in giving these three I give all the rest. And I have inserted at large what these three authors say of this sect, not only that a full view may hereby be given the reader of this very extraordinary order of men, but especially, to obviate the wrong use that is made of their relations concerning them, first by the Romanists, and secondly by the Deists.

I. For first, the Romanists laying hold of an handle offered them by [n] Eusebius, from the account given by Philo of the contemplative Essenes, whom he calls Therapeutæ, argue from

[m] Plin. lib. 5. c. 17.
[n] Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 2. c. 17.

thence, that they were Christian monks formed into that order by St. Mark, who was the first founder of the Christian church at Alexandria, and from hence drew an argument for the divine institution of monkism; and Bellarmin and Baronius, two of the greatest champions that have written in their cause, go in hereto. It is true Eusebius hath said, that those Therapeutæ were Christian monks instituted by St. Mark; and so he hath said many other things without judgment or truth. And, had these two great men been free from the interest and the influence of the party they were of, they would never have said this after him. In other particulars they are forward enough to condemn him, especially [o] Baronius, but, for the sake of their beloved monkery, they follow him in this, which is the absurdest of all. What they or their followers say of this matter is all built upon what Philo hath written of his Therapeutæ, (for no one else hath said any thing of this sort of Essenes but he only. And what can be a greater confutation of the whole of it than the very words of Philo [p] concerning them which are all above recited? For they manifestly prove, first, that these Therapeutæ could not be Christians, and, secondly, that they were most certainly Jews.

And first, they manifestly prove, that they could not be Christians; for they speak of these Therapeutæ as of a sect of long standing in Egypt, and tell us, that they had hymns and writings among them of ancient date, composed in times of old by such as were principal leaders of their sect; that they were dispersed not only through all the provinces of Egypt, but also among the Greeks and Barbarians all the world over. But nothing of all this could be said of Christian monks when Philo [q] wrote that book wherein he treats of this sect. For, Philo being an elderly man when he went on [r] an embassy to Rome from the Jews of Alexandria, in the year of our Lord 39, which was but six years after Christ's

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o Baronius saith of Eusebius more than once, that he was *temporum eversor calumniator maliciosus profusus adulator*, and other such epithets he often bestows upon him, and often not without cause.

p The words of Philo are, Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι, &c.

q That is, his book *de Vita Contemplativa*.

r Of this embassy, see Philo's book *de Legat. ad Caium imperatorum Romanum*.

death, it is most likely this book was written before the Christian church was erected, or at most within 10 years after; but supposing it 20, yea 40, if you please, this would be too short a time for such societies of Christians to be formed and settled in such regular manner as Philo describes, not only through all Egypt, but also among the Greeks and Barbarians all the world over, that is, wherever the Jews were settled in their dispersions among the nations, (for this is all that can be meant by Philo.) But, supposing this possible, how could they be said to have hymns and writings composed by ancient leaders of their sect, when their sect itself was not above ten, or twenty, or at most forty years standing; and their rigorous observance of the seventh day further proveth that they could not be Christians; for the Christian weekly day of worship is the first day of the week, and not the seventh. And the Christian doctrine enjoineth no such superstitious rigour, as that wherewith these men observed that day. For Christ himself condemned it, [s] that man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for man, that is, for his benefit, first, in easing him on that day from his labour and toil after the things of this world, and, secondly, in giving him a fit time thereby to take care of his interest in the world to come, in worshipping his God, and performing all the other duties of religion towards him, which may recommend him to his mercy and favour.

2. And therefore, secondly, that these Therapeutæ observed the seventh day, and with such superstitious rigour as Philo describes, this manifestly proves, that they were of the Jewish religion; and Philo plainly tells us as much, in that he saith of them, that they were the disciples of Moses, (for so he calls them in his introduction to those words of his, of which I have above given an abstract;) and there also he saith of them, that they observed their festivals, and formed their rules for the celebration of them according to Moses' institution. This therefore was none other than a Jewish sort of monkism: for Christian monkism had not its being till many years after: for,

It had its beginning about the year of our Lord 250: then [t] Paul, a young gentleman of the country of Thebais in Egypt, to avoid the Decian persecution, fled into the adjoining desert;

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[s] Matth. xii. 1—13. Mark ii. 27. See also Luke vi. 1—10. & xiii. 15, 16. John vii. 22, 23.

[t] Hieronymus in Vita Pauli.

and fixing his abode in a cave, there first of all Christians began the practice of an ascetic life, in which he continued 90 years, being of the age of 113 at the time of his death. About 20 years after his thus retiring to this place, (he being by that time grown very famous for the religious and hermetical sort of life which he had addicted himself to,) Antony, another young gentleman of the same province, being excited by the fame hereof to follow his example, retired into the same desert, and there devoted himself to the like course of life. And many others, after a while, out of the like zeal of devotion, retiring to him, he formed them into a body; and, becoming their abbot, he prescribed them a rule, and governed them by it many years; for he lived to a very great age. And, from this beginning, all the monkism of the Christian world had its original. For Christ and his apostles never prescribed any such thing, neither is it consistent with the religion they taught. God never made any of us for lazy and useless contemplation only. His providence is over all his works, and every one of us are bound, as far as we are able, to be the instruments thereof, in bearing each his part for the support of the whole in that station of life, whatever it be, which God hath called us unto. And for every man to do his duty in this station of life, with the best of his power, for the honour of God and the good of his neighbour, with faith in Christ for the reward of his faithfulness and diligence herein is the sum of the Christian religion. And whoever is thus diligent and faithful in his honest calling, how mean soever it be, is by so doing, as much serving God, as when at his prayers, provided that, while he doth the one, he doth not leave the other undone.

II. Another wrong use of the words of those three authors above recited, is made by the infidel Deists of our time. They pretend to find in them an agreement between the Christian religion, and the documents of the Essenes; and therefore would infer, that Christ and his followers were no other than a sect branched out from that of the Essenes. And for these chiefly is it, that I have given at large all that these three authors have written of that sect; which is all that is authentically said of them. And let these infidels make the most of it they can. Though they search all these accounts of this sect thorough to the utmost, can any of the proper doctrines of Christianity be found in any part of them? Is there any thing in them of the two Christian sacraments? Is there any thing of the redemption of the world by the Messiah, or of

the erecting of his spiritual kingdom here on earth? Or were any of the peculiar documents or usages of that sect ever ingrafted into Christianity? The common tables, I confess, which were at first set up by the apostles, bear some resemblance to those of the Essenes. But this was never made a law of the Christian religion, as it was of the sect of the Essenes, or ever as much as recommended by it; only it was practised for a short while in the first gatherings of the Christian church, but when it increased and grew up, this usage was dropped, and wholly discontinued, as being no longer practicable. In those moral duties which the Essenes practised and taught, they there indeed agree with Christians, and so do all other religions, as far as they agree with the law of nature. Many of the Heathens carried the observance of all the moral duties which Christianity prescribes much higher than the Essenes did; and this not only in speculation and precept, but also in practice, and thereby made a much nearer agreement with Christianity than any of that sect ever did. And who, therefore, will ever say, that Christianity is a religion made out of Heathenism? Our holy Christian profession is so far from having any of the documents or institutions of the Essenes in it, that almost all that is peculiar in that sect, is condemned by Christ and his apostles. For, almost all that is peculiar in them being only in an higher degree the same things which they condemned in the Pharisees, who practised them in a lower degree, in that they were condemned where they were in a lower degree, they are certainly much more so, where they were in an higher. Such were [u] their superstitious washings, their [x] over-rigorous observance of the Sabbath, their [y] abstaining from meats which God had created for man's use, their touch not, taste not, handle not; [z] their will-worship in their neglecting, and voluntarily afflicting the body, and other like superstitious usages which God never required of them. Moreover, [a] contrary to the law of Christianity, they forbade marriage, which God had ordained from the beginning, and absolutely condemned servitude, which the holy scriptures of the [b] New Testament, as well as the Old, allow. And they denied the resurrection of the body,

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[u] Matth. xxiii. 25. Mark vii. 1—13. Luke xi. 38, 39.
[x] Matth. xii. 1—13. Mark ii. 23—28. Luke vi. 1—10. & xiii. 10—17.
[y] 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.
[z] Coloss. ii. 21—23.
[a] 1 Tim. iv. 3.
[b] Philemon 9—21.

in which the main of the Christian hope consists; and absurdly place the felicity of a future life in the corporal enjoyments of a temperate air in regions beyond the western ocean, where they allow the soul no body at all to be clothed with, for the partaking of them. And further, they pin down all men, both good and bad, to a fatal necessity in all their actions; which digs up the very foundations of all religion and righteousness among mankind. For, if all men be necessarily pre-determined to all their actions, whether good or evil, by an unalterable and irresistible fate, there can then be no merit, nor demerit, nor reason for any endeavour at all, either after religion or righteousness among mankind. And, when the institutions of this sect carry with them so great a distance and disparity from those of Christ and his apostles, what argument of similitude between them can possibly be framed, for the proving of the one to be the parent of the other?

I must not omit to acknowledge, that there is another piece of Philo's concerning those Essenes. It is a part of his apology for the Jews, which he composed with intent to have delivered it at his audience of Caligula, on his embassy to him from the Jews of Alexandria, would he have heard him. This tract of Philo's is not now among his works, it being all lost excepting one fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, in his eighth book *de Preparatione Evangelica, cap.* xi. And this is that piece which I mean; but it containing nothing but what is to be found in the other accounts of this sect above recited, I have avoided the inserting of it, that I might not tire the reader with an unnecessary repetition, to whom I fear I have already been too tiresome in this matter.

There was another sect among the Jews called the Herodians. This indeed had its date long after the times which I am now upon, as having its rise from Herod, king of Judea, called Herod the Great; but, having been more than once made mention of [c] in the gospels, it is not to be omitted. And, since I have here undertaken to give an account of all the other sects of the Jews, I think it proper here to place an account of this also. It is not to be doubted but that they had this name from Herod the Great, but for what reason, this is a question. Some say it was, because they held Herod to be the Messiah: so Tertullian, so Epiphanius, so Jerom, so Chrysostome, so Theophylact, and so several others of the ancients held. But it is very improbable that any Jew should, in the

[c] Matth. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. viii. 15. xii. 13.

time of our Saviour's ministry, above 30 years after the death of Herod, hold him to have been the Messiah, when they had found no one of those particulars which they expected from the Messiah, performed by him, but rather every thing quite the contrary. Others hold that they were called Herodians, because they constituted a sodality erected in the honour of Herod, in the same manner as there were sodalities at Rome, called *Augustales*, *Adrianales*, *Antonini*, constituted in the honour of Augustus, Adrian, and Antoninus, and the like of other Roman emperors after their death. And this is the opinion of [d] Scaliger, and [e] those that follow him; but none of the sodalities at Rome having been instituted till long after the death of Herod, none such could have been instituted, in honour of Herod, in imitation of them. The earliest of these sodalities, and the first of this kind that we any where meet with, were the *Sodales Augustales*. But these not being instituted till after Augustus' death, which happened several years after Herod's, this could give no pattern nor foundation for the like to be instituted in honour of Herod, either in his lifetime, or upon his death, since he died many years before. By what is mentioned of these Herodians in the gospels, they seem plainly to have been a sect among the Jews, differing from the rest in some points of their law and religion. For they are there named with the Pharisees, and in contradistinction from them; and therefore must have been a sect in the same manner as the Pharisees were. And they are also said to have a peculiar leaven, as the Pharisees had, that is, some false and evil tenets, which soured and corrupted the whole lump with which it was mingled; and therefore Christ equally warned his disciples against both. And since he calleth it [f] the leaven of Herod, this argues that Herod was the author of it; that is, of those evil tenets which constituted this sect, and distinguished it from the other sects of the Jews, and that his followers imbibing those tenets from him, were for this reason called Herodians. And these being chiefly of his courtiers, and the officers and servants of his palace, and those that were descended from them, hence the Syriac version, wherever the word Herodians occurs in the original, renders it the *domestics of Herod*. And that version having been made very early, for

[d] In Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronologica, No. 1882.

[e] Casauboni Exercitationes in Prolegomenis ad Exercitationes Baronii.

[f] Mark viii. 3.

the use of the church of Antioch, the authors of it were the nearest those times in which this sect had its beginning; and therefore had the best means of knowing who they were. Thus far, therefore, having shewn that these Herodians were a sect of the Jews, that had its origin from Herod the great, it is next to be inquired into, what were the tenets whereby it was distinguished. The only way to find this out, is to examine in what particulars the founder of it differed from the rest of the Jews. For, no doubt, the same were the particulars in which these his followers differed from them also, and thereby constituted this sect; and they will appear to have been these two following. The first, in subjecting himself and his people to the dominion of the Romans; and, secondly, in complying with them in many of their Heathen usages. For both these particulars Herod held lawful, and accordingly practised them. And therefore, these I take to have been the tenets and opinions in which these Herodians his followers differed from the other Jews, and thereby constituted this sect, which, from him, was called by that name. It being said, Deut. xvii. 15. "One from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee, thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother;" hence an opinion arose, which was generally embraced by the Pharisees, that it was not lawful to submit to the Roman emperor, or pay taxes unto him; but Herod and his followers understanding the text, to exclude only a voluntary choice, and not a necessary submission, where force hath overpowered choice, were of a contrary opinion, and held it lawful in this case, both to submit to the Roman emperor, and also to pay taxes to him. And therefore, the Pharisees and the Herodians being of the opinion in this matter, quite contrary to each other, those that laid snares for Christ, and sought an occasion against him, sent the disciples of both these sects at the same time together, to propose this captious question to him, [g] *Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?* thinking, which way soever he should answer, to bring him into danger. For, should he answer in the negative, the Herodians were there ready to accuse him of being an enemy to Cæsar; and, should he answer in the affirmative, the Pharisees were as ready on the other hand, to accuse him to the people, and excite them against him, as an enemy to their rights, they having possessed them with their notion against paying taxes to any foreign power: but Christ, know-

[g] Mark xii. 14.

ing their wicked intentions, gave such an answer as baffled the malice of both of them. However, the answer then given implying a justification of the doctrine of the Herodians in that point, that could not be the leaven of Herod, which Christ warned his disciples against; and therefore this must be their second tenet, that it was lawful, when forced and overpowered by superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong practices of religion. This Herod did, and he seems to have framed this sect of purpose to justify him herein. For, [h] Josephus tells us, that, to ingratiate himself with Augustus and the great men of Rome, he in many things acted contrary to the law and the religion of the Jews, building temples, and erecting images in them for idolatrous worship; and for this [h] he excused himself to the Jews, telling them, that he did not do it willingly, but as commanded and forced to it by powers whom he was necessitated to obey, thinking this sufficient to excuse him from guilt. And, for this reason, we find him sometimes called an half Jew, and such half Jews I conceive were the Herodians, his followers, professing the Jewish religion, and, at the same time, on occasions, complying with the idolatrous Heathens, and becoming occasional conformists to them. The Sadducees, who denied a future state, did mostly come into the opinions of this sect; and therefore they are reckoned one and the same with them. For the same persons who, in one of the gospels, are called Herodians, [i] are called Sadducees in another. But this sect, after our Saviour's time, vanished, and were no more heard of. And thus far having given this long account of all the sects of the Jews, I shall here with it conclude this book.

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[h] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. c. 12.

[i] See Matth. xvi. 6. and Mark xviii. 15. and compare them together.

THE END OF VOLUME THIRD.

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Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016